

THE AMERICAN



VOL. I.—NO. 20.

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 26, 1881.

PRICE, 10 CENTS.

WEEKLY NOTES.

THE Senate has administered a severe blow to its own prestige by rejecting the amendments to the Funding Bill which its own committee proposed, and passing that measure in the shape proposed by the House. The only reason for having a second legislative chamber, is the assumption that a body elected for a longer term, and less directly by the people, will be free from just the influences which have moved the Senate to this action. These influences are, first, the desire to make audacious experiments with the public credit, which, if successful, will be supposed to reflect credit upon their authors; and, secondly, an indiscriminate and unreasoning hostility to the national banks. We are not to be reckoned among those who regard our banking system as the end of all perfection; nor do we regard the privileges accorded to them under the law as fair to other classes who deal in money and credits. But we have a right to expect from the Senate a careful and dispassionate consideration of the banking system, and such changes, if any, as will not militate against the general interests by depriving the country of the services the banks are capable of rendering. This Funding Bill is not conceived in that spirit. Its authors seem to have seen in the banks little more than privileged corporations, which ought to be given the hardest terms possible, and whose existing relations to the Treasury should be employed to exact of them conditions which they would not accept if these relations had to be formed *de novo*. They are required to base their circulation upon three per cent. bonds only, and to withdraw all others now employed for that purpose. They are compelled to keep on deposit those bonds to the amount of one-third of their capital. And they are refused permission to withdraw their circulation and recover their bonds, except by the slow process of getting in their own notes over their counters, and sending them to Washington. To this last provision, if it had stood alone, we should see little or no objection. It is as the last link in a series of dictatorial restrictions that we think it objectionable. Of that series it is enough to say that, if the national banks were now to be established, and these were the terms offered by the Government, they would not be accepted, and no circulation of paper money could be based upon them. To extort such terms, is to attempt the extinction of the national banking system and a repeal of the guarantees by which the people have been saved from the risks of such a currency as we had before the war.

As the session of Congress draws to a close, it becomes every day more evident that there will be no such despatch of the public business as will preclude the calling an extra session of the new Congress. With the exception of the Funding Bill, and some of the appropriation bills, nothing has been concluded. The apportionment of members under the new census is not and cannot be accomplished by the bill of the Census Committee. Even should it pass the House, it will be buried under debate in the Senate. Should the House see fit to substitute for this measure the sensible one proposed by Mr. Cox, there is little doubt that it will pass. Equally urgent is the Tariff Revision Bill, whose passage should have been one of the first measures of the session. The support this bill has received is entirely from the manufacturing interests. Up to this date, we have heard of no Free Traders petitioning

for its passage, although it is the only practicable way of removing those anomalies of the tariff system which they profess to deplore. It has been hard to persuade their organs that this bill was a serious measure; and when, at last, one of them awoke to the fact, it tried to pervert the support given it into evidence of a disposition of our manufacturers to abandon the protective principle! In spite of the efforts of Mr. REAGAN, nothing has been done towards establishing a national control of inter-State commerce on the railroads. This is a matter on which action should be had as soon as the facts which demand and condition such a law have been ascertained. The States have failed to effect anything, because they can control some railroads, but not their competitors; and the only final solution under the Constitution, as it stands, will be found in a law adopted by both Congress and the State Legislatures to regulate the tariff of charges and the form of reports. But no such law will be secured from the present Congress. We see just as little reason to hope for the passage of the various general and special laws needed for the regulation of Indian affairs. The dissolution of the tribal system, the conversion of champion into severalty in their land-tenure, the redress of the wrongs of the Poncas, are all matters of urgency, which, with many others, this Congress is likely to leave to its successor.

There will be a great pressure upon Mr. GARFIELD to call an extra session for the investigation of offences against the election laws in the South. Upon the justice of that demand, taken by itself, we do not pronounce. But if it is re-enforced by the consideration that much important legislation remains unfinished, we think it extremely likely that the new President will yield to it. The Democrats have nothing to gain by an extra session. It would be a public and not an undeserved stigma upon their own inefficiency. It would be the opportunity for beginning investigations unfavorable to their party. Yet they show no disposition to obviate it by a strict attention and rapid discharge of public business.

SOME of our contemporaries, while admitting that Mr. SHERMAN is in the right essentially as regards the manner of collecting the duties on sugar, take the side of the importers on the ground that his course is technically illegal. They admit that imported sugars have been colored, so as to defeat the intention of the law, but deny Mr. SHERMAN the power to prevent the fraud. In this, however, they have against them the uniform traditions of the American Government. The Secretary of the Treasury has always been conceded a certain latitude in the interpretation of the tariff laws. No tariff system, whether for revenue or for protection, could be devised without leaving some things unprovided for. No such law can fully anticipate the changes which occur from time to time in the methods of industry and the nature of its products. None can be so skillfully drawn as to leave no opening for frauds upon the revenue. The typical instance of such evasions is that of Mr. SAM SLICK, who evaded the duty upon lead by importing it in the shape of statues of GEORGE WASHINGTON, there being at that time no duty on statuary. Equally clever were the recent evasions of the duty on alcohol by importing it as varnish, and then extracting from it the materials which made it such. When the Treasury put a stop to the operations of the Canadian firm which was sending in this varnish, they fell back upon the fact that they had only

taken advantage of the oversights in the law, but they did not expect to be permitted to continue their "varnish" traffic. It is the sugar importers who have made such a claim. They admit that the purpose of the law has been defeated by artificial coloring, and yet they resist the application of a scientific test, by which the Treasury seeks to know exactly what grade of the Dutch standard the colored sugars belonged to before they were colored. Mr. SHERMAN insists on settling the question of color and grade without any reference to the coating of sulphuric acid which has been superinduced. If the discretion of the Treasury does not extend so far as this, then it is altogether worthless.

The truth is that a considerable number of our importers have but little conscience in this matter of evading duties. Men are pointed out who have made fortunes by such evasions, without forfeiting their social standing or being regarded as thieves. When they die, the matter is mentioned in their obituaries, while everything thought offensive to their posterity is carefully avoided. And now we have a whole trade taking refuge behind the bare letter of a revenue law, and claiming the right to bring in sugar at a lower rate than the law intended. At this moment the Treasury holds the invoices of the sulphuric acid forwarded to Demerara by an American sugar-importing firm. Nor is it forgotten by whom the consulate at that port was filled at a very recent date.

Mr. HUGH McCULLOCH has come over to the bi-metallists. In a letter to *Bullion*, he announces his agreement with those who hold that commerce cannot afford to see either metal discredited or deprived of its monetary character. We congratulate Mr. McCULLOCH on the discretion he has shown in selecting the time of his conversion. Now that all Continental Europe is groaning under the tyranny of the mono-metallic system, and seeing its gold drained off by England for exportation to America, it does not involve much risk to predict that things must take a turn in favor of silver as an international money. And when these signs of the times are supplemented by the official declarations of German and French statesmen, that the time is coming for another international conference on the silver question, the probability of a change approaches certainty. But if these official utterances are meant as feelers toward America, and we are expected to take the initiative in this business, we hope that the national dignity will be consulted by ignoring such hints. The tone which our representatives at the last conference—General WALKER, for instance,—were obliged to assume, and the lectures administered to us, as advocates of silver because the chief producers of that metal, should suffice to prevent any action, except upon European invitation. The statesmen of the Old World should understand that we are not suffering from the present disorganization of monetary interests. On the contrary, the United States are the only power which is prospering in the great struggle for the possession of gold, and there seems no reason to expect that the current of gold is soon to change its direction.

We do not know whether the public mind is fully ripe for the movement represented by the Anti-Monopoly League of New York. But the experiment which the League has begun is worth trying. The success of the Grangers in the Western States, and the discovery that the State's regulation of railroad traffic was recognized by the courts as constitutional and lawful, have set the business community to thinking of their own grievances. In our State, the new Constitution settles forever the power of the State in the matter, by making the equitable treatment of all classes a public duty of the railroads as common carriers. But thus far the railroads have been too powerful in the Legislature to allow of the passage of laws to enforce the Constitution. It is an open secret that certain candidates for the United States Senatorship in Pennsylvania could not be elected because the votes con-

trolled by one great corporation were withheld from them; and that a Senator chosen in a sister State owes his elevation to the same corporation. When matters have come so far as this, it is time to ask whether this rapidly increasing power of the great corporations is to receive no check. Are we to have a government by the corporations and for the corporations, or are the people still to occupy the place Lincoln claimed for them? The elements of resistance to this new and dangerous power are sufficiently numerous to secure its defeat, if they can be united and organized for resistance. The farming classes are already aware of the necessity of action. The business men of the great cities will be blind to their own interests, if they allow the opportunity to pass. They should demand that corporations, which have been given tyrannical power to take and condemn private property, shall be managed, not in the private interests of their stockholders merely, but for the benefit of the public as well.

THE first fruits of the Pittsburg and Philadelphia elections were reaped at Harrisburg. The united opposition offered to the CAMERON domination by the Independents in the Legislature strengthened the hands of the enemies of the Machine in those cities; and the victories of the Independents in the cities confirmed the Independents in the Legislature in their resistance. After that fatal Tuesday, it was seen that the time for misleading the people by mere party cries had ceased, and that the politicians must accommodate themselves to the new situation. Hence the promptness with which the offer of the Independents for a committee of conference was accepted. At the opening of the session there was nothing but defiance for those who refused to accept caucus dictation. They were rebels and traitors, who must surrender at discretion, and if they did not they would hear from their constituencies in tones of thunderous rebuke. Had the Pittsburg and Philadelphia Rings carried the elections, this style of talk would have continued. But when the constituencies were heard from, it was found too ridiculous for repetition.

Besides the desire of seeming placable, there was another motive which induced the "Regulars" to accept the Committee of Conference. They had built the most absurd expectations upon General BEAVER's personal popularity. Admitting tacitly that Mr. OLIVER was an objectionable candidate, who had nothing in his favor but money and a caucus nomination, they dilated upon the personal merits of Mr. BEAVER, who had neither. For this they had good reason. General BEAVER is a very different man from Mr. OLIVER, and if he had chosen to declare his independence of the CAMERON Ring, might have been a very good Senator. What the "Regulars" did not understand was that the Independents were not making a personal fight against any candidate, but a fight on principle against the control of the State by such men as Mr. CAMERON and Mr. QUAY. They thought that the constitution of a Committee of Conference, as it released the Independent members of it from the operation of the two-thirds rule, would be followed by such a break as would give Mr. BEAVER the necessary vote of three-fourths of the Committee. So they went into the Committee, not to confer or to compromise, but to vote for Mr. BEAVER! And as though some promise had been made to that effect, they took the defeat of this expectation as a personal grievance.

THE great mistake of the adherents of the CAMERON Machine was the assumption that only Stalwarts are capable of united and well-disciplined action. There has been too much in the history of Independent movements to justify this notion. But even at Chicago they might have made the discovery that united action is as possible against the Machine as in its favor. At Harrisburg, the Independents stood as firmly as did the famous three hundred and six in the GRANT ranks at Chicago; and newspaper correspondents, who had at first nothing for them but abuse as a rabble of de-

serters, were obliged to praise them as a well-organized and determined body of resisters on principle. We cannot better characterize the spirit that animated them and the force which united them, than by giving the substance of a letter written by one of them to a leading constituent in a western county. "You need have no fear," he says, "of any break in the anti-CAMERON ranks. We stand as one man, and will continue so to the last, in this effort to rid the State and the party of that bad influence. No man of that kidney need expect our votes. And our purpose is confirmed by letters we are getting every day from all parts of the State. We had no idea when we began the fight that the people cared so much about the matter. Many of the letters are from plain men,—farmers and the like; and the substance of them all is 'Don't let the CAMERONS get on the top.' We will not."

On the day sacred in the thoughts of all true Americans to the memory of WASHINGTON, an agreement was reached which terminated this necessary but painful struggle. Although it was from the friends of Mr. BEAVER that the proposal came to drop all other candidates and select Mr. JOHN I. MITCHELL, of Tioga, it would have been impossible to effect the compromise without the previous consent of the Independents, who, notwithstanding reports to the contrary, held the key of the situation. Mr. WOLFE cast the first vote for Mr. MITCHELL in the Conference, on Thursday, the 17th. On Friday it was known that Mr. MITCHELL would have the hearty support of the Independents. There had been some previous efforts at compromise, which promised well. At one time it seemed all but certain that Mr. ALEXANDER HENRY, the former Mayor of Philadelphia, was about to be chosen Senator. But all these proved abortive, until the name of Mr. MITCHELL was presented. Of course, the selection was not as spontaneous as the reporters would have us suppose. There had been a careful canvass and much conference over his name, and on WASHINGTON'S Birthday Mr. MITCHELL was finally accepted, and received the whole vote of the joint Committee of Conference.

Mr. MITCHELL was a much better choice than might have been expected under the circumstances. Out of such conflicts there generally comes a successful candidate of the President PIERCE type,—one who has succeeded because he has not enough force of character to offend anybody, and of whom nothing can be expected. But Mr. MITCHELL is not a nerveless and colorless accident. His record in the army, at the bar, in the State Legislature, and in the national House of Representatives, shows him to be, not a man of first-rate abilities nor a great speaker, but an earnest, honest, hard-working man, of independent position, and quite devoid of the politician's eagerness for public place. He is no CAMERON man in any sense, while the fact that his personal relations to Mr. CAMERON have been friendly helps to refute the charge that the Independents rejected Mr. BEAVER for that reason.

The victory remains with the anti-CAMERON wing of the party. They have got all they wanted. They have shown Mr. CAMERON that he is not big enough to control the Commonwealth, and have given him his warning to make the most of his brief lease of power in the Senate, for that lease will not be renewed. They have driven their opponents from one position after another, and have forced them to surrender in offering just the sort of candidate that the Independents had demanded from the first. The Independents have never set their affections upon any candidate. They only insisted that the second Senator from Pennsylvania should not be Mr. CAMERON'S duplicate and echo, nor a man who will enter that body cringing to his colleague; but one who is capable of forming his own opinion, and standing by it. And in Mr. MITCHELL they have got that man. We should not be surprised to see quite an epidemic of independence among our aspiring politicians after this, and to find a good many of them forgetting what Mr. CAMERON looks like.

Now that the Independents have got this job of work so well finished, let us beg of them to help Philadelphia to a better system of civic government. It is they who truly represent Philadelphia, and not the thirty Ring-led politicians, who call themselves our representatives, and whom our city repudiated less than a fortnight ago. We have adopted them as ours, and applauded their resistance. With the help of honest men among both the Regulars and the Democrats, they can do all that we need, and thereby earn our lasting gratitude. Let them repeal the iniquitous Recorder's Bill, which our city has denounced and repudiated. Let them pass Mr. LAW'S Municipal Government Bill, or something like it, for the unification and concentration of civic authority. Let them bury deep the bill to prevent the Mayor from appointing the police, so that it can never rise from the dead if Mr. KING keeps his pledges and does his duty. And then the Independents of Philadelphia, instead of electing thirty such representatives as we chose in the heat of a Presidential election, will send to Harrisburg men who will strengthen the country Independents in their future fights with the CAMERON-HOYT-McMANES-MAGEE-OLIVER-QUAY-KEMBLE Ring.

THE British Commons already experience the inconvenience of the new rules to restrain debate. With some fifty *bona fide* amendments on the notice paper, some of them offered by English members, Mr. GLADSTONE rises in Committee of the Whole to give notice that he will demand a vote upon the Coercion Bill at midnight, without waiting for these amendments to be voted upon, much less debated as to their merits. At this violence the Tories very naturally took alarm and expressed to the Liberals their discontent with this high-handed proceeding. The concession made to them amounts to just this: that when such amendments are still pending and urgency is demanded, they shall be voted without debate. In the prolongation of the debate required for the preparation of this new rule, all the amendments had been disposed of, when urgency was demanded, except four. The Speaker allowed a vote on the one then pending and ruled the rest out of order. As this officer is dictator under the new rules, there was no room for an appeal from his decision, and the bill passed to its second reading.

Our British friends are evidently quite new and raw to the business of making rules to limit debate. They have striven to frame such as would impose no more restraint than was necessary to silence Irish members, and they have managed, though their characteristic want of imaginative foresight, to enact restrictions such as no other legislative assembly would endure. It is true, as some Englishmen have the candor to admit, that it is only against Irishmen that the new rules are meant to be operative. No Minister would dare to apply them to a Scotch or an English minority. But, even with this restriction, it is rather surprising to find the Commons willing to arrange for a temporary dictatorship on the part of the Speaker, and to abandon the right of debate when a minority of the whole House have voted "urgency." The House of Commons contains 658 members, but a House containing but 300 of these members is competent to vote urgency on the demand of a member of the Cabinet.

PRINCE BISMARCK'S new plans for the benefit of the working classes of Germany have been divulged, and are under a lively discussion in the press, preliminary to that which will follow in the Reichstag. The main proposal is universal and compulsory insurance of workmen against accidents, sickness, and death, through a Government bureau, as a substitute for beneficial societies, and, in some sense, for individual providence. Where the year's wages are more than a specified sum, it requires the workmen to pay a proportional part of the annual premium to the bureau. Where it is less, the employers pay everything. The rate of relief in sickness or accident, and of payment to the widow and children after death, are both specified.

This plan, as might be expected, meets with great favor among the economists of the school called *Kathedersocialisten*. They, by a natural reaction from the extreme theories of the State's passivity advocated by English economists, propose to extend the sphere of the State's activity far beyond what any class of Americans would regard as just or reasonable. They delight in BISMARCK'S "strong" and meddlesome treatment of all economic questions. Of the success or failure of this new scheme, it is impossible to speak with confidence. It certainly will meet with unforeseen obstacles at every step, one of the first being the impossibility of defining by law the class for whose benefit it is intended. But the design is a noble one, and if voluntary agency could be substituted for a Government bureau, it might go far to relieve a great measure of the misery which the working classes feel more keenly in Germany and in Italy than in any other part of Europe.

THE inauguration of Dr. WILLIAM PEPPER as Provost of the University of Pennsylvania, on Tuesday last, was an event which excited an unusual degree of interest among the people of Philadelphia. On no occasion has the University brought together an audience at once so large and so weighty in its composition. It gave evidence of a new awakening of public interest in the institution, and was therefore a most auspicious beginning of the new Provostship. The three addresses made on the occasion,—that of Gov. HOYT, in presenting Dr. PEPPER with the keys of the University, that of Vice-Provost KRAUTH, in welcoming him, on behalf of the Faculties, and the inaugural of the new Provost,—were singularly good. Each of the speakers surpassed the expectations which had been formed with regard to him. Mr. HOYT astonished the public by his grasp of the scientific elements whose union constitutes a University education. Dr. KRAUTH'S sketch of the University as it is, and of the things it needs for its complete efficiency, was characteristically keen, and at times witty; while his complimentary references to Dr. STILLE'S work as a Provost, like those made by Provost PEPPER, awakened a hearty response in the great audience, which could not but be gratifying to that gentleman's many friends. Dr. PEPPER'S inaugural was a good deal occupied with the new regulations of the relations of the Provost to the Trustees and to the Faculties, and with the vindication of the relative autonomy now conceded to the latter. He spoke with confidence of the future of the institution and sketched an outline of progress and advance which was indicative of great hopes, while his speech was pervaded by a tone of personal modesty, inspired by a sense of the greatness of the work he has undertaken. In no point did he better indicate his skill as a governor than by the plea for harmony between all classes of students, by which he united them all in responsive applause.

On one point we should have liked Dr. PEPPER either to say nothing or to have said much more. Referring to recent concessions made by both Harvard and Pennsylvania in the matter of the higher education of women, he seemed to indicate his own belief that the University could go no farther in this direction, and pronounced emphatically against co-education. At the same time he declared the University would extend sympathy and approval to whatever the friends of this cause might see fit to undertake. The friends of the higher education of women might well have responded, "Thank you for nothing!" A University which has only a paternal benediction for such efforts, and, above all, a city University, which needs to guard its professors and students against the influx of women to its college halls, cannot be regarded as in the line of the great and just movement which is breaking down the monastic restrictions, inherited by our colleges from the middle ages, and clung to the hardest by those who think themselves the freest from the influences of those dark ages.

During his inaugural, Dr. PEPPER made a reference to a generous gift which the University had just received. Mr. JOSEPH

WHARTON had just announced to him his purpose to endow a School of Finance for the liberal education of business men, especially in the theory of the more complex branches of business, and in the principles of a sound public economy. Mr. WHARTON has been cherishing this purpose for years past, and had communicated it to the Board of Trustees last Summer. His proposal received its final shape a few days before Dr. PEPPER'S inauguration.

OUR record of events at home and abroad closes with the week ending February 24th:—

It is reported that a gold and silver mine has been discovered on a farm in Hamburg township, near Buffalo, New York, which yields "30 ounces of silver and 382 ounces of gold to the ton."

The total value of provisions and tallow exported from the United States during the three months ending January 31, 1881, was \$38,551,634, against \$25,696,915 for the three months ending January 31, 1880.

The City Council of Denver, Colorado, has accepted a proposition for the lighting the entire city with the BRUSH electric light for two years, at \$14,000 per annum. The light is guaranteed to be equal to that of four times the number of gas-lamps, and the city is to have a thirty days' trial of it before it is finally accepted.

A preliminary report upon the silk manufacture of the United States has been issued by the Census Bureau, showing that, for the year ending June 30th last, the total value of the goods was \$34,410,463; number of factories, 383; looms, 8,467; greatest number of hands employed, 34,440; capital invested, \$18,899,500; wages paid, \$9,107,835.

Pork declined 50 to 60 cents per barrel in Chicago on the 19th, owing, probably, to a cable despatch stating that the French Government had embargoed the importation of salted meat from the United States. "This," says a Chicago despatch, "is believed to be the result of shipping meat which is not more than half-cured, and so is unfit to withstand an ocean voyage, and through heat and fermentation arrives in an unsound or tainted state."

Since the passage of the Funding Bill by the Senate, to date, twenty-three national banks have decided to reduce their circulation by an amount aggregating \$4,782,700. Among them are the Western of Philadelphia, \$315,000; the Farmers' and Mechanics' of Philadelphia, \$225,000; the Salem National Banking Company, of Salem, New Jersey, \$45,000; and the First National Bank of Athens, Pennsylvania, \$45,000. The Commercial National Bank of Albany, New York, will retire all its circulation, but will remain a national bank by keeping \$50,000 in bonds on deposit in Washington.

The accounts from New Orleans with regard to the condition of the Louisiana sugar crop are decidedly unfavorable. Grinding set in early; by the middle of October the juice was generally reported to be of good quality and liberal yield; later in the month a rainy spell deteriorated the juice; the condition of the roads made them almost impassable; and the season was thus prolonged fully one-third. Cane windrowed before the frost; if in well drained or sandy soil, kept well, but otherwise it became water-soaked and worthless; when windrowed after the frost, it soon deteriorated, the juices becoming, in the course of manufacturing, excessively ropy and mucilaginous, similar to the result in 1877-'78. The frost of December only slightly impaired the yield, but that which fell in January proved fatal in a day or two.

The recent wool exhibition at Melbourne is considered the finest display of the kind ever witnessed there.

The Italian Chamber of Deputies has voted on the bill for the abolition of the forced currency bill, 266 to 27.

The Press bill, as passed by the French Chamber of Deputies, contains an amnesty clause applying to all convictions except for obscenity.

Exports of tea from Japan in 1880 were 38,000,000 pounds. Competition of Chinese teas in London has compelled a reduction in the prices of Assam teas.

A joint stock company has been formed in Ottawa to run a line of steamers between Canada and Brazil. The vessels will ply from Halifax in the winter and Montreal in the summer.

Nineteen of the prisoners charged with conspiracy to murder the European residents of Kolapore have been found guilty, but sen-

tence has been deferred. The other prisoners accused have been acquitted.

It is stated that Mr. GOLDWIN SMITH is shortly to leave for England, where he will probably remain a year. Meanwhile the *By-stander* will be suspended, to be resumed, however, on Mr. SMITH's return to Canada.

Advices from Panama to the 15th instant report serious troubles in the interior, growing out of differences between the State and general Governments. The State of Antioquia is in revolt, and Santander is drifting into revolution.

A cable despatch has been received in Quebec "authorizing the immediate construction of a beet sugar factory at Berthier, on behalf of the Union Sucrière of Paris." It will be the first enterprise of the kind in the Province of Quebec.

In Shanghai there are twenty German mercantile houses, and about two hundred Germans are engaged in various pursuits at that port. Six large firms are exclusively engaged in business transactions, principally for war material with the Chinese Government.

In the French Senate, on the 22d, M. JULES SIMON spoke strongly against the imposition of taxes on food. He urged the impossibility of raising the duties in proportion as American productions cheapened. The speech probably contributed towards the rejection of the amendment for increasing the duty on wheat.

Cuba advices to the 12th report that sugar-grinding in the Southern district had been delayed by more heavy rains, and from the same cause the tobacco crop in Vuelta Abajo was damaged. Cattle from Porto Rico had been brought into Cuba in large quantities. The Spanish Bank at Havana again lowered its rate for discounts.

In the French Senate, during discussion of the General Tariff Bill, M. TIRARD, Minister of Agriculture and Commerce, twitted M. POUYER QUERTIER with having recently placed himself at the head of a trans-Atlantic cable company, and said, if M. POUYER QUERTIER regarded America as so dangerous to French industry, he had largely contributed to make it still more so.

Herr VON FRANKENSTEIN (Clerical), who was on the 16th elected President of the German Reichstag, is the individual who did not accept the Emperor's invitation to be present at the ceremony of the completion of the Cologne Cathedral. The Reichstag has elected Herr VON GOSSLER (Conservative), President, vice Count VON ARNIM BOITZENBURG, who declined the chair.

Buenos Ayres mail dates are to 14th ult., reporting the wheat harvest as out-turning splendidly; the milling interests are very prosperous, and the exports of flour from the Republic over 16,000,000 kilps (17,500 tons) per annum. Flax-growing is now a very important industry in the Argentine Republic, and a large shipment of linseed had just been made to Europe by the steamer France. Heavy arrivals of railway iron, fencing wire for the sheep farms, and comestibles from Europe, were attracting attention, as evidencing the increasing prosperity of the country. Cattle and sheep were at very high prices, and European immigration is again increasing. Speculative influences had advanced gold, and this caused an active movement in wools, with which the market is completely blocked, by stocks bought by the jobbers, for whom the outlook to realize, except at very heavy losses, is not encouraging.

THE PILGRIMAGE TO MENTOR.

AS the time draws near for the beginning of a new Presidency, the interest in Mr. GARFIELD's plans and purposes grows in intensity. Ever since the year began, there has been such a constant pilgrimage of politicians to Mentor, that the railroad has been obliged to accommodate its time-table to their needs, and to stop all express trains at that village. This is to be regretted. The anxiety which attends the selection of a President's Cabinet must of itself be a considerable drain upon Mr. GARFIELD's stock of health. And he will need all he can muster for the labors and responsibilities of the opening months of the new Administration. A sense of decency, therefore, should have prevented these constant incursions of single politicians and deputations upon Mr. GARFIELD's time.

So far as we have observed, it has been the "Stalwart" portion of the party which has been engaged in this pilgrimage. If there

were any reason to hope that they had been visiting our St. JAMES of Mentor to confess and repent of their sins, it would be a most encouraging sign. Those who risked the ruin of the party under Mr. GRANT's Administration by their misconduct in office; who have had little else than abuse for the Administration now closing, although it is one of the purest in our history; who labored at Chicago to wreck the party on an impossible candidacy secured by measures of tyranny; who shook their heads over Mr. GARFIELD's nomination, and sulked through the opening months of the campaign, while the Independents were working like beavers,—might be supposed to have something to confess when they come face to face with our clear-sighted President-elect. We fear we must infer, from their own account of themselves, that they go to Mentor to confess, not their sins, but their virtues, and to promise, not amendment, but their services in this or that office as "harmonizers" of the party. We hear a good deal of harmony in these days. We may have mistaken its meaning, but it seems to us to mean that these gentlemen offer to Mr. GARFIELD to forgive his nomination and election, and to pardon those who effected these, if he will give them seven places—no more—in his Cabinet, and will make room for such of them as want lesser offices, by turning adrift the weaklings whose commissions bear the signature of Mr. HAYES.

It is a phenomenon, not without a parallel in religious history, that the worshippers at the Mentor shrine find their own views and dispositions so exactly reflected in the object of their devotions. As the pilgrims nearly all belong to the Stalwart sect, Mr. GARFIELD has been figuring for weeks past in the newspapers as the most eminent of the Stalwarts. He has mourned with them over the sad disturbance of Pennsylvania harmony, and has warned those wicked obstructionists that they need expect nothing from him unless they give way. He has shown that he loves the three Senators of the Ring as though they were his brothers, and cannot think of kind things enough to say of them. He has never a good word for any one who supported his candidacy at Chicago, while the great three hundred and six are to him the chosen and elect. All this is sufficiently curious, especially in view of all that was known of Mr. GARFIELD before the pilgrimage began. But it is intelligible when we remember how often an excited imagination has transformed the object of worship into the likeness of the devotee, instead of converting the devotee into the true likeness of that which he worships. "With an upright man Thou wilt show Thyself upright; . . . and with the froward Thou wilt show Thyself froward."

Especially wonderful have been the answers to prayer at this new shrine in the matter of Cabinet appointments. An over-anxious public were at times moved to wonder whether Mr. GARFIELD knew that there are but seven places to give, or whether he believes himself equal to their miraculous multiplication. The number of appointees whose selection is more than certain has run up to thrice seven, and is still increasing. There is hardly a Northern State so barren of great men as not to have at least one aspirant to the Cabinet, whose nomination is fully counted on. In our own State, for instance, that eminent example of Stalwart probity, Col. MATTHEW S. QUAY, is not to be forgotten, while Mr. CAMERON carries round in his breeches-pocket the appointment to the Secretaryship of War. As for New York, the place of Postmaster-General for Mr. JAMES, although well enough, so far as it goes, is a trifle compared with the claims of the State which "pays seven-eighths of the national revenue." It is to have the Treasury—also promised to Iowa—and, perhaps, a couple more places, just to show Mr. GARFIELD's gratitude to Mr. CONKLING. For, as Mr. GARFIELD never fails to remind every Stalwart visitor, "Mr. BLAINE nominated him, but Mr. CONKLING elected him,"—the Independents having had no share in the former exploit, nor the people any in the latter.

All this is in curious contradiction to Mr. GARFIELD's well-known disposition and express purpose to listen much and say

little. He knows, quite as well as his namesake of Compostella that "the tongue is an unruly member." It is explained, however, by the parallel phenomena of religious hysteria and hallucination. Where a great desire and a strong expectation of a sign or vocal utterance exists, the mind counterfeits what it desires and expects, with such energy as to produce a complete hallucination. The less hysterical pilgrims come away from Mentor confessing that they have seen nothing but a pleasant and hospitable gentleman, and have heard nothing but courteous greetings and pleasant chat. Mr. CONKLING professes an entire ignorance of the make-up of the Cabinet. Senator ALLISON and Judge FOLGER unite in laughing at the idea that they are to have the Treasury. But the weaker heads come away with the certainty that what has been withheld from the wise and prudent has been revealed to the "Stalwart" weaklings, whose leathery texture forbids us to call them "babes and sucklings." It is a pity that the new shrine should be the scene of so many false miracles and suspicious revelations. The blame, however, should fall, not to the Saint, but to his worshippers.

UNANIMITY IN VERDICTS.

"WHAT fools these mortals be," is the thought, couched, perhaps, in more emphatic terms, which irresistibly rises to the mind of at least one party to every suit, when the verdict of a jury has brought the litigation to a termination. The earnestness of the person who denounces all jurymen as fools, cannot be denied, when the strange fact is noted that almost invariably that person has himself, at one time or another, been impanelled on a jury, and been denounced in the same manner. While it is but natural to expect that even the verdict of a jury which is most just, sensible and intelligent, will give dissatisfaction, at least to one party; yet it may be not altogether unreasonable to presume that such a wholesale arraignment of juries, as is a matter of notoriety, must have some cause; that where the smoke is so thick there must be at least a spark of fire. If sensible men, when they get on a jury, do sometimes have their heads turned, they certainly have some excuse, for law and lawyer have a wonderful influence in mixing up both mind and matters. "Can't agree" is one of the weak points of our jury system, and causes no end of trouble, expense, and dissatisfaction. In earlier days the remedy for "Can't agree" was furnished by the Court, in the shape of "Make 'em agree;" and rarely did the medicine fail to effect a cure. Forcing a verdict became an inquisition which rarely failed to be successful, even at the expense of conscience. All manner of ways were devised to make the jury come to an agreement, whether they were willing or not. The jury, during their deliberations, were deprived of meat, drink, fire, and light, "in order," as Blackstone facetiously puts it, "to avoid intemperance and causeless delay." To keep a man locked up in a cold room, without fire, and to deprive him of food and drink, were well calculated to avoid any unnecessary delay on the part of the victim. There is reason to doubt, though, that they were as serviceable in securing a conscientious discharge of duty as unanimous verdicts.

That a great change has taken place regarding the forcing of a judgment from juries, is satisfactory to contemplate; but, unfortunately, the jury system has been permitted to retain some of its complex and undesirable features, which still embarrass its usefulness, and because of which embarrassment the old absurdities and cruelties were invented. Thus, the requiring of an unanimous verdict called forth measures looking to the securing of such a verdict. If eleven out of twelve jurymen agreed, the law took it in hand to force the twelfth man to change his decision, if not his views. Even now there is a strong disposition on the part of courts to treat a dissenting juror as a recalcitrant person, and force him into agreement. The clinging to the unanimous system is the

source of most of the viciousness that has been developed in trial by jury, while its good features fail to counterbalance its bad ones. The plea that an unanimous verdict must rarely be unjust, for the reason that it would be well nigh impossible for twelve men to be got together who would subscribe, under oath, to an injustice, is not as weighty as might be imagined. Granted that twelve men are likely to do right when they do agree, how often do they do wrong when they do not agree? That there should be entire unanimity on the part of a dozen men, of different traits and characters, different degrees of intelligence, and different stations of life, is a matter of greater surprise than that they should fail to agree. Yet by that failure, often the greatest injustice is done, and always some one is wronged. The principal ground for the continuance of a system requiring unanimous verdicts, is the antiquity of that method. Yet the greater antiquity attaches to the majority system, for the present system is rather the result of accident than design, while it is the offshoot of the former. In nearly all the more ancient systems of trial by jury, the majority verdict was all that was required, provided that not less than twelve agreed. The number of the jury was usually more than twelve; but if that number agreed, a judgment was secured. The Grand Assize, the inquisition before a coroner, the jury upon a writ of inquiry; the High Court of Parliament, and the Court of the Lord High Steward,—each permitted the rendering of a judgment by twelve or more, notwithstanding that there were dissenting voices. In the Commission of Lunacy, the jury comprised seventeen, while the number required to agree was only twelve. The Grand Jury is an example of the same kind, and continues in existence to-day, and in this country. In this case, twelve men may find an indictment, although a greater number may be opposed. It cannot be questioned that so far as the administration of justice is concerned, the Grand Jury invites less criticism than the Petit Jury. A failure on the part of the former to meet the ends of justice is of less frequent occurrence than is the case with the latter. The objection to putting the Petit Jury on the same basis as the Grand Jury, is the additional expense involved in the increased number of jurors. But such increase in expense would be insignificant as compared with the expense involved in the many failures to secure verdicts after long and expensive litigation. That a majority verdict has many desirable features, hardly anyone will be prepared to deny. In the first place, the possibility of a failure to find a verdict is entirely removed, unless the number to agree is prescribed. In the latter case the chance of a disagreement is considerably reduced, as it is a fact commonly known that in disagreements the minority has been usually remarkably small. If a jury of fifteen were established, with a deciding majority of from nine to twelve, there can be little doubt that justice would be administered in a more speedy and satisfactory manner than at present. In Scotland, a majority is permitted to render a decisive verdict, and the system after several years of practical working has been found to be in every way satisfactory. The evils of the unanimous system are that in the hands of one person rests the power to subvert justice or retard it. The weakest-minded member of the jury can neutralize all the intelligence of the other members. Bribery of juries, unfortunately, is not a thing unknown, even at the present time. The purchase of one man is sufficient to effect the dishonest end in view, a disagreement usually answering all the purposes of a favorable verdict. The jury of to-day is at the complete mercy of the fool or the knave;—either can and often does make justice a laughing stock. If a majority could decide, the effect would be to take the determination of issues at law out of the hands of those unfit to decide them, give to suitors the greater certainty of having their claims honestly, ably and satisfactorily recognized, and do entirely away with the numerous re-trials caused by failures of juries to agree. The question of a change in the jury system is of sufficient importance to invite earnest and intelligent thought.

PROCEEDINGS OF CONGRESS.

WASHINGTON, February 24th, 1881.

THE chief event of the week is the passage of the Funding Bill by the Senate, substantially in the form in which it passed the House, the rate of interest being fixed at 3 per cent. The Cattle Disease Bill and a House bill designed to prevent the impositions of patent right vendors, have been discussed in the Senate. The bill for a new Congressional library building was amended so as to provide for a site on Capitol Hill instead of Judiciary Square, but the bill was not perfected. There was another long debate on the conduct of the Pension Bureau in connection with a provision in an appropriation bill authorizing an increase in the number of clerks. In the House, the Apportionment Bill yet hangs fire, the Republicans not having decided what they want to do. Much of the time has been spent in consideration of appropriation bills.

SENATE.

Thursday, February 17.—The Senate passed a resolution instructing the Committee on the Judiciary to report upon the best method of protecting innocent purchasers from the imposition of fraudulent vendors of patent rights. Consideration of the Funding bill was resumed. Mr. PLATT of Connecticut advocated the $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. rate of interest. Mr. VOORHEES of Indiana made a greenback and anti-national bank speech. The amendment of Mr. TERRY of Michigan, giving the Secretary of the Treasury discretion to fix a rate of interest not exceeding $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., was vigorously debated by Mr. ALLISON of Iowa, in opposition to giving that official any such discretion. His speech was regarded with interest, from the fact that common rumor has designated him as the Secretary who will have the placing of the new bonds. The amendment was rejected—yeas, 12; nays, 46. The amendment of the Committee on Finance substituting a rate of $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., instead of the rate of 3 per cent., as in the House bill, was lost—yeas, 22; nays, 34. The amendment making the bonds five-twenty years bonds instead of five-ten years was carried. The limit of expense for preparing and negotiating the bonds was fixed at one-half of one per cent. instead of one-quarter of one per cent. The amendment proposed by the Committee to strike out section 5 of the bill requiring national banks to purchase these bonds for deposit to secure their circulation, was lost—yeas, 19; nays, 21. An amendment offered by Mr. KIRKWOOD of Iowa requiring the offering of the loan by public subscription for thirty days before any contracts with bankers or syndicates are made for the disposal of it, was adopted.

Friday.—On motion of Mr. THURMAN of Ohio, who announced that it was probably the last request he should make of the Senate, the Funding bill was temporarily laid aside, and a bill appropriating \$400,000 for a fire-proof building at Columbus, Ohio, was taken up and passed. The Senate then agreed to all the amendments of the Funding bill that had been adopted in Committee of the Whole; and passed the bill—yeas, 43; nays, 20. The District of Columbia Appropriation bill was passed.

Saturday.—The bill concerning contagious diseases of cattle was under discussion until two o'clock, when the Senate adjourned to enable members to attend the funeral of FERNANDO WOOD. The bill, as reported from the Committee, was fiercely attacked by Mr. INGALLS of Kansas and others, and it was generally agreed that some of its features were unconstitutional. It was announced that the Committee would endeavor to agree upon a substitute to offer on Monday.

Monday.—In the morning hour Mr. SANDERS of Nebraska addressed the Senate on appropriations for the improvement of the Missouri River, and certain bills of no great public interest were considered and passed. The Legislative, Executive and Judicial Appropriation bill was taken up, and some amendments proposed by the Senate Committee providing for an increase of the number of clerks employed in connection with the Pension Office, were adopted in committee. An evening session was held, at which the business was the bill for the erection of a new building for the Congressional Library. The Committee's bill providing for the erection of the building on Judiciary Square was amended by substituting certain squares east of the present Capitol grounds as the site. Upon an amendment providing for the purchase or condemnation of this land, a debate sprang up, and nothing was concluded. This important work, which has been in contemplation fifteen years, and is greatly needed, seems likely to be again, as often before, postponed for insufficient reasons.

Tuesday.—The Senate, after much discussion, passed a joint resolution appropriating \$30,000 for a monument to mark the birth-place of WASHINGTON. Consideration of the Legislative, etc., Appropriation bill was resumed, Mr. BLAIR of New Hampshire concluding a long speech begun the day before, in explanation of the state of affairs in the Pension Office, and his view of the remedy. After some further

debate, the Committee's amendment increasing the clerical force in the Pension Office was agreed to, and the bill was passed.

Wednesday.—Bills for the relief of the Ponca Indians were reported, the committee not being able to agree. The bill of the minority requires those now in the Indian Territory to stay there. Mr. BUTLER of North Carolina made a speech in favor of surveys for a Blue Ridge Canal. A bill was passed extending the time within which officers and soldiers may file claims for horses and equipments lost. There was a debate on the House bill to regulate practice in suits for infringements of patents. The impositions practiced upon innocent parties were strongly set forth. No conclusion was reached, but there is a manifest disposition to do something to correct the evil. The Fortifications Appropriation bill was then taken up for consideration.

Pending the consideration of the Library bill, Vice-President-elect ARTHUR appeared on the floor and made the acquaintance of many Senators of both sides of the Chamber, who were introduced to him from time to time by Senator CONKLING.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Thursday, February 17.—Pending a final vote on the River and Harbor bill, Mr. ROBESON of New Jersey moved to commit it to the Judiciary Committee, with instructions to report an amendment confining the expenditure to harbors and streams within the admiralty and maritime jurisdiction of the United States. Lost—yeas, 85; nays, 152. The bill was passed, with all its iniquities—yeas, 162; nays, 85. The Conference Committee's report on the bill for establishing a free bridge over the Potomac was received. Consideration of the Apportionment bill was resumed, and several gentlemen made speeches upon it.

Friday.—A bill making Atlanta, Georgia, a port of delivery, was passed. Mr. SPARKS of Illinois made an ineffectual attempt to get the House to consider the bill for the relief of FITZ-JOHN PORTER. The yeas were 113; nays, 117. The House proceeded to the consideration of the Agricultural Appropriation bill. Mr. HURD of Ohio proposed an amendment, under cover of which he delivered a carefully prepared anti-tariff speech, which he has long waited an opportunity to recite to the House. He was replied to by Mr. KELLEY of Pennsylvania, in a speech which showed that he had given careful attention to Mr. HURD's theories, as embodied in a series of resolutions submitted some time ago. Mr. FELTON of Georgia also delivered a speech on the same theme, favoring a low tariff. Then the Agricultural bill was considered, but not disposed of before adjournment.

Saturday.—Mr. TURNER of Kentucky made a speech defending his course in voting against the River and Harbor bill. The Agricultural Appropriation bill was considered, many members improving the opportunity to give their opinions about the present and past management of the Agricultural Bureau in a manner not always complimentary. Without finishing the bill, the House adjourned, at 2 o'clock, in respect to the memory of the late FERNANDO WOOD.

Monday.—The House refused to recede from its disagreement to the Senate amendment to an appropriation bill continuing the Board of Indian Commissioners—yeas, 105; nays, 124. A bill referring to the Court of Claims the venerable Choctaw claims for \$2,000,000, upon which committees of thirteen Congresses have reported always in favor of their payment, but which Congress has uniformly neglected to pay, was passed—yeas, 175; nays, 44. A bill incorporating the Cherokee and Arkansas River Railroad Company, to build a railroad through the Indian Territory, was passed—yeas, 121; nays, 34. An effort to substitute a House bill for the Educational Fund bill passed by the Senate at this session, and pass it, under suspension of the rules, was defeated.

Tuesday.—The Agricultural Appropriation bill occupied the House again, and the debate concerning the management of that portion of the Governmental establishment went on for an hour or two, when the bill was perfected and passed. The Sundry Civil Appropriation bill was then taken up and discussed for the rest of the day, little progress being made. The principal debate was upon an amendment making an appropriation for beginning the construction of the Baltimore Post-Office, which was finally adopted. The resignation of WALBRIDGE A. FIELD, member of Congress from Massachusetts, was received.

Wednesday.—The House met at ten o'clock, in continuance of Tuesday's session, and went into Committee of the Whole on the Sundry Civil Service Appropriation bill. An ineffectual effort was made by Southern members, led by Mr. KING of Louisiana, to strike out the clause limiting the amount that may be expended by the National Board of Health in preventing epidemic diseases. The action of that Board was severely criticized by Mr. HAWLEY of Connecticut and others. When Wednesday's session began, Mr. COX of New York called up the Apportionment bill, which is the unfinished business. Mr. CONGER antagonized it with an appropriation bill, and the Republicans refusing to vote, there was no quorum. Mr. FRYE of Maine asked Mr. COX to allow other business to intervene, as the Republicans, not having been able to hold a conference, were unprepared to act. Mr. COX gave notice that he should call the bill up Thursday and demand the previous question. Consideration of the Sundry Civil bill was proceeded with until adjournment.

THE SOUTH.

A SYMPOSIUM.

IN THE AMERICAN for February 5, we published the first instalment of a series of letters from Southern men in review of the Southern political situation, with reference to national affairs. These letters were elicited by questions in writing, with the sole object of bringing about a better understanding between North and South, to the end that national unity may be promoted through the obliteration of sectional lines. All of the replies received are from men whose relations to the Federal and State Governments, or whose social and political antecedents and influence, make their opinions of great value to the student of contemporary politics. In the publishing of them from week to week, regard is had to a classification according to States, going southward from the Potomac, and beginning with the two Virginias. In the issue for February 5, letters were printed from Hon. A. H. H. STUART, ex-Secretary of the Interior; Senator WITHERS, Lieut.-Gov. WALKER, and Representative JOHN RANDOLPH TUCKER. In our issue for February 12 letters were printed from Senator JOHN W. JOHNSTON, Representative R. L. T. BEALE, Professor B. PURYEAR, and Governor MATHEWS, of West Virginia. On February 19th, we published letters from Senator Z. B. VANCE, Representative W. H. KITCHIN, Ex-Congressman WADDELL, Representative A. M. SCALES, and Judge W. N. H. SMITH, of North Carolina.

To obtain this information, it was deemed expedient to indicate a common line of discussion, and the letter addressed to each Southerner, to which a reply was sent, was as follows:

PHILADELPHIA, January 1, 1881.

DEAR SIR:—There is a strong desire among the better elements in the Republican party at the North to do away with that bar to the highest national political prosperity known as "the Solid South," not merely for the good it would do the South, but also for the benefit it would unquestionably do the North in obliterating a cause of sectional suggestions and harmful dividing lines. The North is sincere in this.

We here can conceive of no better way of arriving at a solution of the question than by obtaining, considering and adopting, so far as we see it to be possible, the opinion of the South upon the best means of removing the bugbear. THE AMERICAN intends to do what lies in its power to promote this end by laying before its Northern readers the views of Southern men whose position and knowledge entitle them to speak. Will you not, therefore, kindly oblige THE AMERICAN and the conservative Republicans at the North by replying to the following questions?

1. Has the "Carpet-Bag" influence been hurtful or helpful in your State; and in what way as regards educational, political, social and commercial prosperity?
2. How far has this Carpet-Bag influence been opposed or fostered by State legislation and public opinion?
3. Have the Carpet-Baggers had a fair chance to be honest, or are the troubles which have arisen traceable to weakness of character in the Carpet-Baggers?
4. Is the Carpet-Bag influence with you on the wane, or is it waxing; and why?
5. Are the Northern Democrats a help or a hindrance to Southern political prosperity? If so, what is the remedy?
6. What is the condition of the negro party, and what is its future?
7. Has the time come, or is it near, when the white people of your State will seek affiliation with new parties?
8. What have been the errors in the treatment of the South by the Northern power?
9. What would the South like to have from Northern politicians, the Republican party and the President-elect?
10. What does the South need from them?
11. What does the South expect to get from them?
12. Is public opinion in your State fairly in accord with your own?

SOUTH CAROLINA.

WHEN we reach South Carolina, we get at the very heart of the Southern question. Here is the State whose great men preached the gospel of secession through so many years, and made converts of the whole South; which led the Southern sisterhood into open rebellion against national authority; which was one of the last to lay down her arms; which was, more than any other State, despoiled by the conqueror; which was crushed in the dust under the car of reconstruction; whose lands were sown in salt by the carpet-bagger; whose wrath or woe gave birth to the Ku-Klux, and which, only within the last four years of twenty that have passed since the election of ABRAHAM LINCOLN, has presented even a semblance of peace or order and equal rights. It seems hardly worth while to awaken bitter memories and challenge partisan criticism by the details of the history thus epitomized. Yet, there are some facts which must be recalled to memory as the condition of a thorough understanding of what follows.

First, as to South Carolina's sufferings during the war. They were even more severe than Virginia's. The harbors of Beaufort and Port Royal and adjacent islands were held by the Union forces from November, 1861, until the downfall of the Confederacy, and thither flocked thousands of slaves. For a long period the whole coast was at the mercy of the blockading squadron and of the army of the South. Meanwhile the adult male population was at the front, manufactures were estopped, and the staple crops were destroyed before the time of harvest. There was hardship everywhere, and the climax of disasters was reached when SHERMAN swept through the State on his march to the sea, devastating a tract fifty miles in width, gardens becoming deserts and cities wasted to ashes. It was with sick hearts that the people, broken in spirit and impoverished in store, addressed themselves to the task of building up their waste places. Little wonder is it that for awhile they sat down idle, in gloomy contemplation of their ruined fortunes, and that while they hesitated the enemy sowed tares. A few voices, WADE HAMPTON's among them, were raised in an attempt to make the real people of the State bestir themselves, but they fell on listless ears. The carpet-baggers and negroes formed an alliance, offensive and defensive, and, under the shadow of Federal authority, entered the land to possess it. The work of reconstruction devolved upon the ignorant negroes and the unscrupulous persons who were adroit enough to manage them. Very early the ordinance of secession was repealed, the Confederate debt was repudiated, and a new Constitution was framed. Then the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments were ratified, and still another Constitution was framed and ratified, whereupon Congress passed upon the work and, bad as some of it was, pronounced it good. The re-admission of the State into the Union proved, however, only the signal for the opening of new vials of wrath upon the people of South Carolina. The State Government through several administrations was corrupt to the core. Venality was the rule in every department of official life. The negroes, illiterate and ignorant, easily imbibed the precepts of profligacy and vied with their preceptors, the carpet-baggers, in plundering the people and making a vulgar and offensive display of their ill-gotten gains. With very few exceptions, office proved destructive to the morality of the negro, and if he resisted temptation for awhile, the carpet-baggers deliberately set to work to seduce him. Innumerable offices were created for the dependents of the ring. At one time there were five officers of the Legislature for every member of it. During one session, the pay of the attaches of the Senate exceeded that of the Senators by \$16,000. Moreover, men were imported into the State for the purpose of filling offices, and were returned elected without receiving a vote. In the passage of a bill, a member must be paid to introduce it; a chairman must be paid to report it; its passage cost more money, and the Governor must be paid to sign it. Everything in the gift of the people was put up at auction and knocked down to the highest bidder. So far as South Carolina was concerned, honesty seemed to have vanished from the face of the earth. The history of the administrations of SCOTT and MOSES will be forever a stench in the nostrils of this nation.

The reaction came at length, but it came slowly and with many attendant evils. The first steps taken by the intelligent, property-holding people to recover the right of self-government were mistaken, because violent and revolutionary. They attempted to put down fraud by bloodshed. The Ku-Klux and similar organizations were founded in an impulse of self-protection. Men saw the Governor a panderer to political prostitutes, the Legislature debauched, the courts infamously wedded to crime, the law made an instrument of oppression, and they knew that anarchy was impending. Stung to madness, they took into their own hands the vindication of the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. In doing so, as was inevitable, they resorted to measures which were lawless. The whole negro race suffered for the crimes of its office-holding class. Outrage was met by outrage, robbery by bloodshed; and outrage and bloodshed were accepted by the Federal Government, on the representation of the carpet-baggers, as manifestations of disloyalty and a disposition to deprive the colored man of his rights. There was wrong, grievous wrong, on both sides, and it was a long while before the North was made to see that the truth lay on the middle ground. When it did, the lesser evil was chosen, and the North looked the other way while the white people, by means not commendable, to say the least, resumed the reigns of government.

The new era began with the election of WADE HAMPTON to the Governorship in 1876. Into the manner of that election it was not thought wise to inquire too closely. We do not believe that the election was fair, and we know that the incidents of the campaign were peaceable, but we recognize that the result was for the good of South Carolina, and that the new Governor and the new Legislature did more to restore material prosperity to South Carolina and to bring about pleasant relations between the races than all of the other Governors and Legislatures that the State had in the preceding eleven years. Whatever means may have been employed, we find South Carolina now in possession of an honest State Government, the courts active in the punishment of crime, the expenses of legislation within reasonable limits, taxation moderate,

but sufficient, a public school system of increasing efficiency, the whites and blacks working together with faith in the good time coming, agriculture revived, manufactures assuming respectable proportions, the negroes becoming thrifty, the whites becoming tolerant; and with it we note the slow but sure revival of a national spirit that for a long while showed no spark of vitality. South Carolina has sinned much, has suffered more, but it is to be hoped that the perfect day of her deliverance is at hand.

SENATOR M. C. BUTLER.

General M. C. BUTLER is, next to WADE HAMPTON, the most widely known South Carolinian of the present day. He gained distinction in the war between the States, as a Confederate cavalryman, entering the service as a Captain in the famous HAMPTON Legion, and becoming a Major-General. After the war he resumed the practice of the profession of law, which he had abandoned to become a soldier, and also took an active part in politics. In 1866 he was a member of the Legislature, in 1870 was an unsuccessful candidate for Lieutenant-Governor, and in 1876 was elected to the Senate as the successor of T. J. ROBERTSON, and the colleague of his old military commander, WADE HAMPTON. Senator BUTLER has two reputations—to the average newspaper reader on this side of the Potomac he appears as an unrepentant rebel, unpleasantly immortalized as the instigator of the Hamburg massacre; at home and to those who have met him on the floor of Congress, he is recognized as one of the most temperate of Southern Democrats, genial, intelligent, progressive, thoroughly reconstructed, as innocent as a babe of any connection with the Hamburg affair (except as to his share in quieting the disorderly elements), and radical only in his worship of his native State.

SENATE CHAMBER,
WASHINGTON, December, 1880.

To the Editor of THE AMERICAN.

SIR: I have received your letter of the 16th inst., propounding a number of questions to me, which I will answer with frankness and in the same spirit of courtesy which characterizes your letter.

Surely, every good citizen of the country ought to join in that "strong desire" which, you say, "the better elements of the Republican party of the North" have for "obliterating the cause of sectional suggestions and baneful dividing lines, known as the Solid South." You say further that "the North is sincere in this." I am rejoiced that this is so. The South is perfectly sincere in a desire to come to a cordial understanding with people in all parts of the country, and establish kindly relations with them, socially, politically, commercially and materially. She will meet the North more than half way in that direction, and enter into as dispassionate a discussion of the dividing questions as human nature is capable of.

For my humble part, I shall certainly permit no improper feeling to influence me in what I shall say in this communication, and shall state only what I believe to be true, and make such suggestions of policy as shall conduce, in my judgment, to the best interests of the whole country. You ask me:

1. "Has the carpet-bag influence been hurtful or helpful in your State? and in what way, as regards educational, political, social and commercial prosperity?"

I dislike to revive a discussion of the carpet-bag regime in South Carolina. It was so full of official dereliction and Governmental scandal, so fraught with disaster to every interest of the State, "educational, political, social and commercial," so "hurtful" to everybody and everything, that I cannot in this manner convey to you a correct idea of how much harm the carpet-bagger *did* do my State. If, however, you think it worth while to go into the history of that period, I can furnish you with such accurate and well-authenticated data, that all possible doubt will be removed, if any exists, as to whether the carpet-bag influence has been "hurtful" or "helpful" to South Carolina. I cannot attempt even to recapitulate the overwhelming evidence of the great crimes they committed against that State and her people.

2. You ask "How far has this carpet-bag influence been opposed or fostered by State legislation and public opinion?"

During the eight years of Republican rule in South Carolina, the most flagrant crimes and wrongs were not only not punished, but excused and covered up by every department of the Government—Judicial, Legislative and Executive. There were some honest men in all the departments; but, as a rule, what I have said is true. Of course, they were opposed by the better class of both races, but so completely did they control all the governing powers of the State, and so complete was the carpet-bag Republican ring, that the opposition was powerless.

3. "Have the carpet-baggers had a fair chance to be honest, and are the troubles which have arisen traceable to weakness of character in the carpet-baggers?"

Nothing prevented their being honest that I am aware of. They had absolute control of the State Government. They had behind them a *solid* political party, principally of negroes, it is true, obedient to their leadership to the last degree, and willing, I believe, to sustain an honest administration of affairs; and I am therefore led to conclude that they were more wicked than weak.

When Governor Chamberlain, as Governor of the State, in 1875-76, assailed his corrupt party associates, and endeavored to repress the wrongs and correct the abuses of his party, his hands were held up by the good men of all parties without reserve. His efforts for reform appeared to be earnest, honest and sincere; and he gave away the opportunity of his life when he again sought fellowship with the corrupt and dangerous men whom he had been denouncing and fighting for two years, and thus neutralized the great strides he had made, with the help of the conservative forces

of both political parties, towards good government. He was warmly sustained by white Democrats, without regard to his being a Republican or carpet-bagger, so long as he struggled for honest government.

4. "Is the carpet-bag influence with you on the wane, or waxing; and why?"

I think it is on the wane, because most of them have fled from the penitentiary where, no doubt, their consciences admonished them their crimes would consign them. Some left the State voluntarily. A few are remaining who might leave the country of their adoption for their country's good, living there as they do on politics, stirring up the worst passions of the negroes against the whites, and disturbing the peace of society, that they may thrive on the confusion.

The political upheaval in 1876, the exposure of their crimes, and the irresistible power of public sentiment, drove them into exile, just as Tweed and his gang were dispersed in New York.

5. "Are the Northern Democrats a help or a hindrance to Southern political prosperity. If so, what is the remedy?"

They have been a "help" to the "political prosperity" of the South. When we were under the ban of the worst State Government the world ever saw; when the South was *solidly Republican*, staggering under the weight of the direst humiliations and afflictions that ever cursed any civilized people in any civilized country since the world began,—no sign of relief, no word of sympathy, no effort of power, no hand of help, came from anybody, or any source, but the Northern Democrats. It appeared to us that the Northern Republicans rejoiced in the afflictions, spoliations, wrongs, humiliations, that their party allies in the South were heaping upon us. Up to 1874 they controlled the entire machinery of the National Government, and, at an earlier period, every officer, from Governor to constable, in the Southern States; and if ever there was a word of remonstrance against the corruptions and misrule by a Republican at the North, in power or out of power, so patent to everybody, I do not now recall it. If one single act, by one single body of Republicans at the North, was done to correct or reform the abuses of their party, during those long years of disgraceful misgovernment in the South, it has escaped me. Are you surprised, then, that I should tell you, "the Northern Democrats have been a help to the political prosperity of the South." I say this, not because I am a Democrat and they are Democrats; but because they helped to secure honest, local government. That is all.

6. "What is the condition of the negro party, and what is its future?"

Some of the negroes have joined the whites in an effort to maintain good government. A majority of them, however, are susceptible, like all ignorant people, to appeals to their passions and race prejudices, by bad and unpatriotic men, and may be easily induced to array themselves against the whites, whenever their passions and prejudices are appealed to. If you were to go into the South, and endeavor to satisfy their judgments, by intelligent argument and reason, that they ought to vote for good, competent men for office, and for none other, and a bad white or colored man, who may have embraced Republicanism the day before, perchance, should stimulate their race prejudices, arouse their passions or pander to their ignorance, and advise them to vote for the worst man in South Carolina, they would follow his advice and not yours. Many of them have acquired intelligence and experience enough *not* to do this, and have joined the whites on the side of good government.

"What is the future of the negro party?"

I confess I can no more answer than I can tell you what will be the future of the Indian or the Chinaman. All three are very difficult problems, and we must see further along before we can speak affirmatively. If the negro population could be distributed over the North,—the masses of population broken,—I think it would be the best thing for the negro, and for the whites also. If they are to be left in the South, the Southern people had better be left to settle their relations with them. The Southern people know the negro, and understand his characteristics, his wants, his possibilities, and the Northern people do not; and, if left to themselves, the Southern people would deal more kindly and more fairly by them, than the Northern people.

7. "Has the time come, or is it near at hand, when the white people of your State will seek affiliation with new parties?"

There is no "new party" with which the white people of the South can affiliate. No man in the South can ally himself with the Republican party as it is known and organized in my State, and maintain his self-respect, or the respect of his neighbors. Those who organized the Republican party in South Carolina made it so odious, committed so many crimes, and did so many wrongs in the name of Republicanism, that no respectable man could join it.

My opinion is that many people in any part of the country are held to party by a very slight tenure. It is so in the South, and if the Republican party could be made respectable in South Carolina, I think it not unlikely that good white men would join it. So long as the present Republican leaders in South Carolina continue their party organization on the *race* line, and make it a negro party, thereby keeping alive the impending menace of negro domination, and all the evils growing out of it, just so long will the white people remain solidly Democratic. When this race issue is abandoned by the Republican leaders, and this menace removed, the white people of the South will divide on questions of public policy, as they do elsewhere; but not before. I have already extended this communication much beyond the limits that I intended to allow myself, and shall therefore answer the remaining questions in a group. They are:

8. "What have been the errors of treatment of the South by the Northern power?"

9. "What would the South like to have from Northern politicians, the Republican party, and the President-elect?"

10. "What does the South need from them?"

11. "What does the South expect to get from them?"

12. "Is public opinion in your State in accord with your own?"

One of the errors committed by the North was the immediate enfranchisement of the negroes. They had just emerged from slavery. Their ancestors had not long been brought from Africa, in a savage state, and had been only partially civilized under the institution of slavery. They were, in the main, ignorant and unfit for the responsibilities of citizenship. The contemporaneous *dis-franchisement* of the leading white men of the South aggravated the evil, opened the door for adventurers, camp-followers, bad men,—yclept carpet-baggers,—to step in between the races, produce estrangement, stimulate animosities, and make possible the long train of evils which followed in the wake of carpet-bag-negro supremacy. The summary execution of the prominent leaders of the Rebellion and absolute immunity to the survivors, would have been much more humane and wiser than the plan of reconstruction that was adopted, and which placed the late slave over his late master. This was the first error; and I think the second was in not promptly arresting the carnival of misrule in the South, which flowed as logically from this sudden *en-franchisement* and *dis-franchisement*, as effect from cause. And the third error was in attempting to reconstruct the Southern States without the assistance of the intelligent and experienced part of the population. These, I think, were some of the fundamental mistakes. They are things of the past; and you may not agree with me that they were mistakes; but you ask my opinion, and I feel bound to give it to you frankly. Whatever there is of that period painful or disagreeable to think of, the Southern people want to forget, and turn their faces to the future. That future will be a marvellously bright one, if the people of the South are true to themselves; and I believe they will be. The first thing they want from the President-elect is to appoint reputable, honest, upright men to the Federal offices in the South,—men who are patriotic, who love their whole country,—men who will not array the negro on *solid race lines* against the whites in political canvasses,—men who will not appeal to the negro's passions, prejudices, fears, but to his reason, intelligence, and manhood, and will not advise him to vote for bad, dishonest, incompetent men to office, and mislead and deceive him.

This, I say, is the first thing the South wants from the President-elect, and if he will give us this, the "Solid South" will be a thing of the past—a respectable *opposition* party. I mean, "opposition" to the solid Democratic party will be built up in the South. Race will no longer be arrayed against race. Political asperities will be torn down. Fresh political pastures will be opened to the Southern mind. Sectionalism will disappear, and a generous rivalry for the first place in social, political and material development will spring up between all sections.

Let the President-elect do his part, and time will do the balance.

You ask me "What the South expects from the Northern politicians, the Republican party and the President-elect?" She expects very little. Her expectations are not great. She is just as able to take care of herself as any other section of the Union,—quite as able and willing. Her population is not homogeneous. Her position has been and is difficult, anomalous, abnormal. Four millions of freshly-emancipated, enfranchised, *citizenized* slaves were poured out upon her suddenly, whilst she was unprepared, exhausted, impoverished, chagrined. Then came the carpet-bagger and camp-follower, to make "confusion worse confounded,"—and right well did they succeed. How could you expect the same degree of social order, law, forbearance, to prevail in a community like this, as in a community where the population was homogeneous,—with no newly enfranchised slaves, no upheaval of social conditions? It was folly to have expected it; and yet the Republican party did expect it, and made matters worse by a faulty diagnosis of the trouble and clumsy interference.

If the Southern people had been left to themselves, they would have brought order out of this chaos much more promptly. Mistakes would have been made. Mistakes were made,—grievous mistakes. Nevertheless, those mistakes would have been corrected—would have corrected themselves. Wrongs against the negro would have been committed,—wrongs were committed,—but they, too, would have been remedied, and the Southern problem much more satisfactorily solved, if they had been let alone, and the people of that section much more effectually brought into ready adaptation to the new order of things. But that was not done, and we must now deal with the present and future. The errors of the past ought to be put behind us and forgotten, except so far as a recollection of them may serve to guard us against repeating them.

The white people of the South are, I believe, sincerely desirous of carrying out in letter and spirit the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution, as they are of every other provision of that instrument. They are as much devoted to its principles as the people of any portion of this country, but they cannot subordinate their wives and children, and what little is left of their property, to the domination of ignorance and vice again. They cannot give up the Caucasian civilization again for that of the African, any more than can the white people of the Pacific Coast surrender the Caucasian supremacy to the domination of the Chinaman. It is unnatural to expect it, and the people of the North ought not to expect it.

The Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments *can* be enforced in the South without a war or a cross, if the Northern people will take a practical view of the Southern situation. That they have never done. They have dealt in abstractions and have made the mistake of endeavoring to apply literally and at once to a heterogeneous mass of population propositions of government very practicable to a homogeneous people, but wholly unsuited to the suddenly manufactured mass of citizens, untutored, uninformed, uneducated, and unaccustomed to our forms of government. It would not work practically at the North any more than at the South. Time, patience, forbearance, justice, firmness and education will bring all things right, and, in the meantime, social order will be presented, life and property protected, and peace prevail. This is not a white man's government, or a red man's government, or a black man's government, but a government for all.

The South then would "like to have:"

1st. Honest, reputable, liberal-minded men appointed to the Federal offices in the South (let them be Republicans if you choose); and

2d. The reorganization of the Republican party in the South upon a basis of intelligence and honesty, decency and respectability.

The white people of the South have no animosity or ill-feeling towards the colored people. In view of the many acts of mutual kindness between the races and the mutual incentives to the cultivation of friendly relations, it would be unnatural if there should be. But they are not quite willing or prepared to admit that peace and prosperity and order can be better assured by the colored brother than by the white. A sad experience has taught them that as governors, judges, legislators, the negro has not been a success, and as such can never be a success until he has acquired more intelligence and has made more progress towards a higher citizenship.

I do not say this by way of reproach, for he is not responsible for his ignorance or inexperience. That must be credited to slavery; and slavery must be credited to the white people of the whole country, North as well as South. They are responsible for it, and now they should adopt such measures as will elevate the negro—"bring him up higher"—and not degrade the white man. The South is doing the best she can in that direction. Will the North help her?

And, lastly, when the correspondents of your leading newspapers go into the South, let them not go, as they have too often done, as informers and detectives, to *spy out* the faults, and shortcomings, and defects, of her people and institutions, and studiously conceal the good side of the picture. I do not know that it does us any harm, but such practices are not calculated to make people feel kindly or good-natured towards the authors or those who encourage them. A correspondent of a Southern paper might go into the purlieus of the Northern cities and ferret out the crimes and misery, and social crookedness and ill manners, of their *habitués*, and send them to his paper, not to cure such evils by exposing them, but to prejudice the minds of his readers against the whole population. Would this be fair or honorable? I think not. And yet Northern correspondents have been very much given to this in the South.

Very truly and respectfully yours,

M. C. BUTLER.

REPRESENTATIVE JOHN S. RICHARDSON.

CONGRESSMAN RICHARDSON, whose candid expressions of opinion are subjoined, is a fairly representative South Carolina Democrat, not so progressive as to be called a Liberal, as the term is applied in Georgia and Virginia, but not so conservative as to be called a Bourbon. Like every other member of the South Carolina Congressional delegation, he is a native of that State. He served in the Confederate army as an infantry captain, and was wounded at the first battle of Manassas. Mr. RICHARDSON has been in the public service almost continuously since the war, but did not come on the national stage until 1878, when he was elected to Congress over J. H. RAINEY, the well-known colored Representative, for whose seat he had previously made an unsuccessful contest.

WASHINGTON, D. C., January 17th, 1881.

To the Editor of THE AMERICAN.

DEAR SIR:—Your letter of December last was received. I had concluded that no good could come from Southern men making public their views on political matters. Hence, I did not answer your letter.

You say in your letter of the 13th instant (which I received a few days ago, and in which you repeat your questions,) that Senator Butler, Representative Blackburn, and many others whom you name, have answered these questions, and urge me "in the interest of purer politics, better feeling at the North, and a better understanding of the South and her citizens," to answer them. This is a strong plea, and one I can not ignore.

1. "Has the carpet-bag influence been hurtful or helpful in your State, and in what way as regards educational, political, social and commercial prosperity?"

There is and can be no doubt, that the influence of the carpet-bagger has been most hurtful and injurious as regards the educational, political, social and commercial prosperity of all classes of people. This was to have been expected from the kind and character of the carpet-bagger who came to South Carolina. With few exceptions, they were men of the lowest type, without character, position or standing in the communities they had left. They came, not to help build up a broken-down country, or to extend a friendly hand, either of counsel or aid to our people; but at once and in the outset they set themselves in opposition to the white people of the State, and by their course and conduct arrayed the colored race against the white race. They taught the colored man that the white man of the South was his enemy; that his interest was opposed to the interest of the white man, and his freedom depended upon keeping the native white man out of control of the State Government. This race prejudice I regard as the greatest as well as the most lasting of the evil influences exerted by the carpet-baggers. For their own promotion and emolument they literally took possession of the colored man, and used him to put themselves in office and in control of our State Government. Being thus elected to office, and in possession of the State Government, they proceeded to levy enormous taxes and contract an enormous State debt. The money derived from these sources was not properly or legally expended by them, either in paying off the indebtedness of the State or in defraying the expenses of the State Government, but was appropriated by themselves and squandered in a hundred illegal, extravagant, disgraceful and shameful ways.

Under their administration the public debt was increased four-fold; the taxes

amounted to almost confiscation; ignorance and incompetency ruled in high places, and life and property were utterly insecure. Extravagance, crime and injustice held high carnival in our State. The natural consequence of all this was the odium and disgust which such conduct begat in the minds of all honest and decent people of the State, for Republicans and Republicanism. It became impossible for any decent man to unite himself with the Republican party. Republicans and Republicanism were judged by what our people saw exhibited before their eyes in South Carolina. In so far as there may be an advantage in having two political parties among the whites in our State, the course and conduct of the carpet-bagger made it an impossibility, at least until he was removed from the stage and his baneful influence overcome and forgotten. That he has been removed from the control of the State, and his influence is being overcome, is a matter of rejoicing to all lovers of the well-being, peace and prosperity of all classes and conditions of our people.

The foregoing answers your first, second, and fourth questions, except as to what way his influence was hurtful as to the educational prosperity of our people. In this respect his influence was hurtful, in that the money collected from the people for educational purposes was not, under his administration, honestly, impartially or faithfully applied to the purposes for which it was collected. This brought the public school system into disfavor and disrepute, as well as burdened it with a heavy debt, from which it has taken years to recover. It has, under different auspices and under a different rule, gradually grown into general favor and is being freed from debt. At the close of carpet-bag rule the number of teachers in the State was 2,674; the number of scholars in attendance on the schools, 102,396, of which 46,444 were whites and 55,952 colored children. The average time the public schools were kept open was three months, and the amount of debt incurred \$209,940.66. Under Democratic rule the amount of money raised annually for free school purposes is about \$350,000 more than the sum needed and used to run our whole State Government, and it is equally divided between the white and colored free schools. The number of teachers is 3,171; the number of scholars, 134,072, of which 61,219 were white children, and 72,853 colored; the average time the schools are open is three and a half months, and the legacy of school debt which the carpet-bagger left to us has been reduced to less than one-half, and will doubtless be all paid off within a few years. This debt has very much shortened the length of our sessions.

In your third question you ask "have the carpet-baggers had a fair chance to be honest?" Yes, certainly. They had control of the whole State Government in its legislative, judicial and executive branches; they paid themselves large salaries, and none of them were tempted by hunger or nakedness to be dishonest.

In reference to the other questions propounded by you, I can only say I have no doubt the South has erred in several instances in following too unquestioningly the lead of Northern Democrats. With the majority of Democrats from the South in Congress, the South should have asserted itself when the responsibility was upon it before the country. Had it done so, the party would have been saved, I have no doubt, several of the mistakes which, it is but honest to admit, were made. I have no doubt, too, but that the alliance of the Northern with Southern Democrats was the cause of loss to the party in the North. The South, whether rightfully or wrongfully, has been a heavy load to carry by the Northern Democrats. The alliance has not helped them. I cannot see how the alliance has, or could possibly, affect injuriously the Southern Democrats, except as it has affected the whole party, North and South. The Southern Democrats have been successful in their elections, and have returned very nearly an entire Democratic representation. But, leaving out of the question the great principles of Democracy, to which our people are attached from time immemorial, where can the Southern people go, if not to the Democracy? Who stood by our people after the war closed, when we were disfranchised and without a voice in the Government? Who extended to the South the hand of welcome when we were permitted to return to the Union? Who contended on the floor of Congress and before the country that the South should have no discriminations made against her, and should be treated with equal justice with the other sections of our country; that when the war was over we should have peace; that we were no longer enemies, but friends—citizens of a common Government, and entitled to equal protection and equal rights? Who, I ask, did all this, but the National Democratic party? So far from forgetting all this, the South keenly remembers it, and cannot soon forget its debt of gratitude to the Northern Democrats.

Now, when you consider the course and conduct of the carpet-bagger, and remember that our people consider him as having been sent South under the auspices of the Republican party, and supported and sustained by that party for years,—yes, until our beautiful country was devastated and ruined by him,—and when you contrast the courses pursued since the war by the two great political parties of this country towards the Southern whites, you cannot wonder that our people should see no hope for them except in the Democracy. To the minds of our people, for any of them to embrace Republicanism, means negro rule and negro domination; and when they thought of the years between '68 and '78, a military government was preferable to a return to the utter ruin of that regime of negro and carpet-bag rule. From this it will be apparent how hard it is for our people to believe that there can come any good to them from the Republican party.

This is precisely our situation. On the one hand, the course of the Republican party towards the Southern whites has driven them from the party and left them nothing to expect from it except a return to negro rule and negro domination. On the other hand, the only friends we have, or have had, are the Northern Democrats. So far as we know or can see, they are the only friends we can have. It is a matter of regret to us that we are a hindrance to their political prosperity. You ask "What is the remedy?" I know of none, unless it be in the South holding an entirely national and

independent position, without affiliation with either of the great political parties of the country. This was the position held by South Carolina prior to 1850. That the South is prepared for this, I very much doubt; but that a considerable number of our people believe that our wisest and best course lies in that direction, I know to be the case.

You ask "What is the condition of the negro party, and what is its future?" They are prospering and doing well in a business point of view. They are better fed, better clothed and have more comforts around them, year by year. Quite a number of them are acquiring homes of their own and growing rich. They are evincing more and more interest in educating their children, and the latter have made commendable advancement in their studies. They have equal rights and protection under the laws of our State with the white man, and are perfectly secure in their freedom, person and property. The relation between the races is growing more satisfactory to the races as we recede from carpet-bag influence. Politically, the negro is, as a general thing, utterly unfit to fill office, and yet he is a chronic office-seeker. The trouble with the negro has been that he considers himself fit to fill and entitled to office, and nothing can convince him of the contrary. As to his political future, I have no doubt that as soon as he fits and qualifies himself, by education and training, to fill office, our people will be entirely willing that he should have office. But our people think that the negro should stand on the same footing with other people, with no more restrictions upon him, but with no greater advantages than white men have; and not until he is competent and qualified, should he have office, simply because he is a negro or colored man.

There is a disposition on the part of our people, and recently a positive movement has been made in that direction, (with which, I may add, I cordially agree,) to concede to the colored man some representation. The idea is, as it is taking shape, to set apart so many of the offices which may be filled by colored men, and for which white men will not compete. Our people may, at no distant day, concede this much to the negro race, and will likely do so, if they see that such a course will settle our political troubles.

"What does the South expect from the President-elect, and from the Republican party? What does it need, and what would it like to have from them?"

The South hardly knows what to "expect" from the President-elect. As is well known, General Garfield was not the choice of the Southern white people for President; but I think it can be safely said they are disposed to give his administration a reasonable and fair support. No obstacles will be thrown in his way; and every measure he may inaugurate looking to the general good of the whole country will receive, I am sure, their hearty support. They do not expect any harsh or extreme course to be pursued by him. The South "needs" a great deal, and would "like to have" what she needs. She needs, first and foremost, greater educational facilities for all classes of her people, especially for the poor whites and the colored people. She would "like to have" from the general Government the necessary pecuniary help to enable her properly to educate them. She is unable to do this in her poverty as she would like to have it done. She has done all she can for this great cause, and beyond this really and truly "needs" help. She needs, and would like to have, her rivers and harbors improved, with something like the liberality with which the rivers and harbors of other sections of the country have been improved. For years, especially with South Carolina, she has been left out in the cold, without any assistance in this direction, while liberal appropriations were being made for the rivers and harbors of other sections of our country. She feels that the time has come when she should receive the liberal support of the general Government in improving our unsurpassed natural water advantages. But as much as she needs all this, the South, in my judgment, needs still more to have peace and quiet in all her borders. She has before her the most difficult of all political problems to solve. That problem is this: Can two distinct races, one of them in the minority, but composed of the intelligence, culture and wealth of the country, and the other, the majority, composed of the recent slaves of that minority, and an ignorant and illiterate mass of newly enfranchised freedmen, live in peace and quiet in the same country, respecting the rights of each other, and together work for the common good of the whole? Such a problem has never before been solved in the history of the civilized world. In solving it, the South needs, more than anything else, peace and quiet, and all the forbearance, as well as help, of the general Government.

We ask them not to be harsh or pre-judged in our efforts to solve it. Where errors may be committed, bear with us; where we are right, sustain and support us. Give us aid and support in all that promises to help solve the problem. By no means or methods seek to cause ignorance and vice to rule over intelligence and virtue. You would not allow it in your own case; do not seek to enforce it in ours. In short, we need and would like to have you do by us as you would like to be done by, were you in our case. If let alone, if there is no more carpet-bag influence instilled into the minds of the colored people, and if there is no more intermeddling, directly or indirectly, in our elections by those who are not of us, I believe that the problem can and will be satisfactorily solved. But so long as the danger is made to threaten the South of ignorant negro domination, there will be but one solid phalanx of the white people of the South, determined to oppose and resist such a consummation. Self-preservation will force them to this. It would force you, were you in like manner threatened. When this danger no longer exists, I have no doubt the white people of the South will divide into political parties; but until then they will remain essentially solid in its support of that party which seems to hold out the best if not the only promise of help and aid in solving our most difficult political problem.

Your questions are so numerous that it has required a much longer letter to answer them than I could wish. I am unwilling, however, to make my answer shorter. If my views are worth publishing at all, let them be given in full.

Yours, respectfully,

JOHN S. RICHARDSON.

REPRESENTATIVE M. P. CONNOR.

The representative of the Charleston District in the Forty-sixth Congress is M. P. CONNOR, a native South Carolinian of Northern education. He was born at Beaufort, and was educated at Fordham College, New York. A lawyer by profession, he was a member of the South Carolina Legislature for the seven years ending in 1865. This is his first term in Congress. He was elected over E. W. M. MACKEY, by a returned majority of about 7,000, in a contest which gave rise to the now famous cry of "tissue paper ballots" against South Carolina Democrats.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
WASHINGTON, D. C., January 20th, 1881.

To the Editor of THE AMERICAN.

SIR: I am in receipt of your favor of the 13th instant, propounding a series of inquiries, and asking my views in answer to them, as you have been pleased to state, for the purpose of "advancing the cause of perfect reconciliation in our national politics." As I will not be able to reply to the length I should desire, I shall consider your inquiries *seriatim*, and answer them briefly and succinctly.

1. "Has the carpet-bag influence been hurtful or helpful in your State, and in what way as regards educational, political, social and commercial prosperity?"

The carpet-bag influence, while it was in the ascendant in South Carolina, between 1868 and 1876, swaying, as this class did, the large body of negro voters, and controlling them in the exercise of their licentious power, was most disastrous to every interest in my State, and in its results was almost subversive of all order and civilization. Large sums of money were wrung from the tax-payers by the carpet-bag Government, and appropriated for educational purposes; but so broadcast were sown the seeds of corruption, that a large portion of this fund was each year fraudulently misapplied and diverted from the purposes for which it was designed. This went on from year to year during this entire regime, while the education of the masses was neglected, the public funds stolen, and large deficiencies accumulated from year to year, until, after the advent to power, in 1876, of the Democratic party, it was found that an immense deficiency had to be provided for to pay the teachers of former years, whose compensation had been withheld and fraudulently applied. South Carolina can boast to-day of having advanced her public educational system to a grade equal to that of almost any other State in the Union. Her tax-payers now contribute annually over \$350,000 for public education. Her schools are in fine working order, and in the aggregate attendance there are 20,000 more colored than white children. Politically and socially, the influence of the carpet-baggers, during their regime, was polluting and degrading, their only rule of politics being how best to secure plunder from the proprietors of the State, and to perpetuate their unholy power. I will just here quote a sentence from "Pike's Prostrate State," giving the condition of the State between 1872 and '73, every word of which I endorse as perfectly true: "The rule of South Carolina should not be dignified with the name of Government. It was the installation of a huge system of brigandage, and men who had it in control, and who now have it in control, are the picked villains of the community. They are the highwaymen of the State. They are professional legislative robbers. They are men who have studied and practiced the art of legalized theft. They are in no sense different from, or better than, the men who fill the prisons and penitentiaries of the world. . . . They pick your pockets by law. They rob the poor and the rich alike by law. They confiscate your estate by law. They do none of these things even under the tyrant's plea of the public good or the public necessity. They do all simply to enrich themselves personally. Their sole base object is to gorge the individual with public plunder. Having done it, they turn around and buy immunity from their acts by sharing their gains with the ignorant, pauperized, besotted crowd who have chosen them to the stations they fill, and which enable them thus to rob and plunder." During the reign of this loathsome dynasty, abominations were permitted which no Government that deserved the name should have tolerated for an instant, and few civilized States have ever been condemned to suffer. Under these circumstances, how could there be any commercial prosperity during such a reign of venality, rapacity and vulgarity?

2. "How far has this carpet-bag influence been opposed or fostered by State legislation and public opinion?"

All the better classes of society, the white natives almost in a body, opposed it; but it was fostered and encouraged by the State Legislature, which it controlled, and by all the public officials, who were subservient to its authority. So tainted was the atmosphere with corruption; so universally implicated was everybody about the Government; of such a character were the ornaments of society at the capital, Columbia,—that there was no such thing as an influential local opinion to be brought against the scamps. They plundered and gloried in it, and public opinion, as far as it could be evoked through a public press and crystallized into a conviction by the honest members of society, condemned it.

3. "Have the carpet-baggers had a fair chance to be honest, or are the troubles which have arisen traceable to weakness of character in the carpet-bagger?"

During the eight years of their supremacy, they literally had everything their own way. They might, if they had pleased, been honest, as they proved dishonest; and all the evils and corruptions to which they were so easily prone are due both to lack of character in themselves, and the degrading ignorance of a constituency upon whose shoulders they were lifted into power. There was no power inside of their party to curb their desires or restrain their lust for gain, and they possessed no moral stamina within themselves to resist their rapacious tendencies.

4. "Is the carpet-bag influence with you on the wane, or is it waxing; and why?"

With the advent to power of the Democratic party in 1877, the influence of the carpet-baggers, by whom I mean those political adventurers who had sat down in our State to gloat over the ruins and fatten upon the spoils of a plundered people, was decidedly on the wane. Their occupation for the time was gone, and many of them hied to fresh fields and pastures new. The few that have remained, taking shelter under the National Republican party, are ready to unite with such unprincipled men of the native class as have assumed to lead the negro, not for the negro's good, to re-inaugurate the era of crime and of plunder from which the State had redeemed herself after so desperate a struggle.

5. "Are the Northern Democrats a help or a hindrance to Southern political prosperity? If so, what is the remedy?"

The South cannot fail to remember with feelings of gratitude the gallant stand taken by the small band of Democrats, when they were in an almost hopeless minority in Congress, and their struggle to maintain the Constitutional rights of the States; and without speculating as to the consequences of this policy and political action, whether it intensified or not Northern prejudice, and hardened the Northern mind against the South, I, for one, believe their course and conduct was a help, rather than a hindrance, to the South in the hour of her gloom and heaviest calamity.

6. "What is the condition of the negro party, and what is its future?"

Wherever the negroes are crowded together on the plantations or other localities in large numbers, with but few whites in the neighborhood, there the influence of the political agitator and incendiary has its vent, and they are easily induced or persuaded to adhere and cling to the Republican party, and to follow the counsels of its leaders, however unprincipled they may be, regardless of the wrongs and excesses which would follow upon their success; but in other localities, where the disproportion between the whites and blacks is not so great, and where the influence of the white man can be exerted, and the negro feels that he has a power to lean upon for protection, should he desire to join the party of *honest* government, there the negro has been found accessible to the better influences of society, and has been able to rise above the prejudices of race. The main argument addressed to them to hold them together, is an appeal to their race prejudices, with false admonitions as to the danger of their liberties from the domination of the white man. Whenever the sinister influences of evil and designing demagogues has been withdrawn or gotten rid of, there the race line with the negro will be broken, and he will ultimately be absorbed into one or more parties organized in the State for the purpose of maintaining an honest government;—and just here let me add that the political struggle that we have been waging in South Carolina for the past four years has not been, as is supposed, so much for the success of the Democratic party as for the securing and maintaining in office of honest and intelligent men, to make and administer the laws, and to protect the rights and liberties of the citizen. To this end, and this end alone, the people of my State have bent all their energies, and have resolved that South Carolina shall not be a prostrate State again.

7. "Has the time come, or is it near, when the white people of your State will seek affiliation with new parties?"

Self-interest will control the white people, and as long as there is the slightest danger of being threatened with a return to those evils of misgovernment from which they were rescued, so long will they stand firm and solid, attracting to them the virtuous and intelligent of all classes to preserve order, property and civilization, the main objects for which government was instituted. When such danger no longer menaces; when the negroes, who are numerically in the ascendant, and the largest political factors in our problem of government, divide among themselves, and insist that none but the most competent, honest and intelligent men, regardless of race, shall hold place or power in the State, it is impossible to say what new disposition of parties will be made under such circumstances. The great struggle in South Carolina now is for material advancement and prosperity, and all other considerations weigh but little with her people in comparison with this overawing necessity.

8. "What have been the errors in the treatment of the South by the Northern power?"

This inquiry opens a very wide field. It would be impossible for me to do justice either to myself or the subject in the form of a brief answer. The fundamental error in the treatment of the South, which proved the "direful spring of all her woes," was in prematurely and precipitately thrusting upon the negro, before probation, and without any qualification whatsoever, the right of suffrage, the disastrous consequences of which policy every wise legislator, whether from the North or from the South, should have foreseen. At the bottom of this error, its authors I do not believe designed the elevation of the negro, but were bent upon political aggrandizement and obtaining Republican sway throughout the South. Nor did this sudden investiture of the negro with the suffrage tend to elevate him. He was, for a time, blinded with excess of light. It only put into his hands, in his untutored condition, new weapons, which he could only use to produce mischief, and develop and gratify his baser passions. The suffrage was conceived and invented in its earliest history, in connection with government, to serve as a safeguard of society, and the end of its creation could not be accomplished unless its exercise were associated with intelligence. Such a thing as an ignorant suffrage is incomprehensible, and when ignorance, in its thirst for power, so prostitutes the suffrage, and makes the ballot-box an engine for the destruction of the safeguards of society, then, rather the suffrage fail, than society suffer; rather the ballot-box be overthrown, than civilization perish through its instrumentality. When I speak of an ignorant suffrage, I do not mean the ignorance implied in the inability to read or write, for this inability may co-exist with knowledge derived from experience and observation, and founded upon character; but I mean that denser ignorance, which does not distinguish between right and wrong, which has no apprehension of truth, and which degrades man almost to the level of the brute creation. And when

this latter class, combining with and led by criminals, is permitted to obtain the control and commit excesses and impose burthens upon the people which are intolerable,—then, if all other measures fail, the resort to revolution is justifiable, and must ensue, and whatever would justify a revolution would justify any measure short of it to accomplish the needed reform, or to save the State from dissolution. A long train of abuses followed in the train of this fundamental error; suspicion and distrust were engendered on the part of the North against the South; every tale of wrong and oppression imputed to the South was believed at the North, and the advice and suggestions of her best citizens were unheeded by those in power. Negro domination was upheld by the Northern power, and from the worst classes of society officials were chosen by the Federal authorities, to be put over the people and hold them in slavery to this unhalloved domination. I believe, if a more magnanimous policy had been pursued by the Northern power with the South, a Republican party could have been built up in those States upon an impregnable foundation; but, as it turned out, these errors, prolific of misgovernment in the South, proved a source of weakness to the Republican party of the nation, and, for a time, endangered its national supremacy.

9. "What would the South like to have from Northern politicians, the Republican party and the President-elect? What does the South need from them? What does the South expect to get from them?"

If Northern politicians could realize the vast increase in the material prosperity of the Southern States, the increased development of her resources and the enterprise and energy that have been imparted to her agricultural, manufacturing and commercial industries, they would cease to wave the *bloody shirt*, cultivate a more cordial understanding between the sections, and aid in the efforts made by the Southern people for their improvement and industrial aggrandizement, which has contributed so largely to the increased wealth and prosperity of the whole country. The staple products of the South have been almost doubled since the war. Manufactures are springing up on every hand, and the area of her commerce with foreign powers is being daily enlarged by her seaports being brought into more rapid and frequent communication with the vast store-houses of the West, which seek a vent at every outlet to the sea. The prosperity of the whole nation is more intimately bound up with the prosperity of the South to-day than it has ever been in the past, and it is to the interest of the Northern power that political agitation should be discouraged in the South; that political demagogues and adventurers, who are continually sowing the seeds of discord, should be gotten rid of, and her people permitted to work out their own political salvation. All that the South demands from the dominant party and the President-elect is their sympathy and co-operation with her people to maintain and perpetuate an honest government, and that they would frown down any attempt on the part of any class of politicians to elevate to offices of trust and power, unworthy, incompetent and dishonest men, or to relegate the State back to that condition of chaos and of anarchy which but a few years back threatened an almost total eclipse of her civilization. This much, at least, the South is entitled to expect from the President-elect and his party; and, recognizing the distinguished abilities of our new Chief Magistrate and his knowledge and appreciation of the difficulty of conducting, for any length of time, a well-organized government, other than upon the basis of virtue and intelligence, I am inspired with confidence that his administration will set at rest many disturbing issues which now distract the Southern section and which may keep the South from advancing in her career of prosperity.

10. "Is public opinion in your State fairly in accord with your own?"

It should be, if it is not; and I have no reason to believe otherwise than that the sentiments I have herein expressed are endorsed by the largest portion of my people.

M. P. CONNOR.

EX-REPRESENTATIVE MACKEY.

E. W. M. MACKEY is the Republican contestant for the seat claimed by M. P. CONNOR in the House of Representatives of the XLVIIth Congress. There are few men who are more trusted by the blacks or more hated by the whites of the Palmetto State than this Mr. MACKEY. The best that can be said of him is that he has been a Republican through good and through evil report. The worst that can be said of him, with equal truth, we would not care to print. Without any well-sustained pretensions to statesmanship, learning or high moral character, he has won the confidence of the ignorant negroes of this vicinage to such an extent that they would no doubt vote for him for President of the United States with cheerful alacrity. Mr. MACKEY has held office often and sought it oftener. He was an influential member of the worst Legislature that ever sat in Columbia, but managed to escape better than most of his associates. In late years he has been known chiefly as a contestant for a seat in Congress, and succeeded once, if not twice, in gaining it. He is also widely known as a writer of letters to the Northern press pleading the cause of South Carolina Republicans and boldly arraigning the Democrats for frauds and outrages. It is in this department of political labor that he appears to the best advantage. This Mr. MACKEY is not to be confounded with Judge T. J. MACKEY, once a stalwart Republican, who now affiliates with the South Carolina Democracy and holds a circuit judgeship by Democratic appointment.

CHARLESTON, S. C., February 14th, 1881.

To the Editor of THE AMERICAN.

SIR: I regret very much that I have not the time to devote to the questions proposed by you that consideration which the importance of the subject involved in those inquiries demands. Ever since the receipt of your letter, I have been engaged in tak-

ing testimony to establish my right to the seat in Congress from this district—the certificate of election having been given by the Democratic officials of this State to my Democratic opponent, although, on the face of the returns, I had a majority of one thousand over him, and a majority of many thousand more, if the votes had been counted as they were cast.

While I have no time to reply at length to each of the questions propounded by you, I will take the opportunity afforded me to answer briefly one or two of the more important of your inquiries.

First, however, excuse me for remarking that you have fallen into the common error of regarding the Democratic party of the South as "the South." This is evident from the nature and language of your inquiries. Your error is pardonable, because it arises from the persistent assurance with which the Democrats of the South, through their leaders and their newspapers, have advertised themselves as "the South," until the people of the country have almost forgotten that in many of the Southern States the Democrats are actually a minority of the people, and not a majority. That a minority of the people in these States rule a majority, is principally due to the fact that the Democratic leaders in those localities have instilled into their followers the belief that murder, violence and intimidation, together with ballot-box stuffing, are not crimes, when committed in the interest of the Democratic party. Hence, to obtain control of certain Southern States, and in order to make the South solidly Democratic, the Democrats did not hesitate to resort to murder, violence and intimidation, and thus they succeeded in overcoming a more peaceably disposed majority. Having made the South solidly Democratic by such means, they do not now hesitate in these States, where it is necessary to resort to ballot-box stuffing and every species of fraud, in addition to violence and intimidation, to retain control. With a fair election, and an honest count, one-half of the Southern States would be Republican. To obtain, however, a fair election and an honest count in certain Southern States, seems to be impossible as long as the Democratic party continues to exercise the absolute control, which they have heretofore exercised, over the souls and bodies of the masses of the whites, making them, upon the theory that the end justifies the means, commit all kinds of crimes to promote the success of the Democracy.

What the South needs most, therefore, is an emancipator who will free the whites from the bondage in which they are held by the unscrupulous leaders of the Southern Democracy, who manage to retain their ownership of the white voters by constantly appealing to their passions and prejudices, and by continually harping upon their dread of negro supremacy. This brings me to the consideration of one of the questions submitted to me. You ask: "Has the time come, or is it near, when the white people of your State will seek affiliation with new parties?"

I answer, I am afraid the time has not yet come, nor is it near, for any considerable number of the white people of South Carolina to seek affiliation with new parties. In certain localities, local causes may bring about divisions among the white voters, but as a general thing the masses of the white voters are not ready to affiliate with new parties. One cause of this is, that a vast majority of the white voters of South Carolina are exceedingly ignorant and uninformed. No estimate of the intelligence of the voters of the State can be formed by reference to statistics of the number able to read and write, for I have often found voters, without a particle of education, superior in intelligence to voters who could read and write. Thousands of white voters in South Carolina, who can read and write, as well as those who can't, are too ignorant to have a single political idea save what they imbibe from some cross-road politician, who, in turn, generally gets his information from some fourth or fifth-rate country newspaper, edited by some Democrat, who, ten chances to one, never traveled beyond the limits of the town in which he was born. The ignorance of such voters makes them intolerant, and to them free thought and free speech are crimes. They neither speak nor think for themselves, and they think it a crime for any of their number to speak or think for himself. In this condition has the Democratic party of South Carolina kept the white voters of the State for the past sixty or seventy years; and hence, except at intervals, there never has been but one political party in this State. This is a disgraceful fact, to be attributed only to the death and extinction of free thought and free speech. For when men think and speak for themselves, there must necessarily arise differences of opinions in matters of politics, and such differences of opinion must create two or more political parties. Hence, in South Carolina, before the war, the Democratic party made no provisions for the education of the white masses of the State, because the leaders of that party feared that the education of the masses might disturb the political status, as it then existed, and which is best illustrated by the saying, which was then very common, that whenever Mr. Calhoun took a pinch of snuff, every man in South Carolina sneezed. Since the war, by fostering a spirit of political intolerance, and by instituting a system of social ostracism against every white man who dared abandon the Democratic party, the Democratic leaders of South Carolina have been enabled to make the vast majority of the white voters of the State follow their lead as a flock of sheep follows the bell-wether. So long as they can continue to keep up this condition of affairs, so long will they prevent the white voters of the State from affiliating with new parties.

Now, then, the question arises what can be done to break the influence of the Southern Democratic leaders over the white people of the South, and to emancipate them from the political slavery in which they are now held by the Democratic party? In my opinion, what ought to be done is as follows:

First. The Republican party should make the same effort to convert the white voters of South Carolina and the other Southern States that it made in the last election to convert the Hoosiers of Indiana. Had South Carolina in 1876 been flooded with the great Republican orators of the nation, as some of the Northern States were, Wade Hampton and his rifle clubs would never have wrested the State from the hands of the Republicans, by the system of violence and intimidation which they inaugurated. If

the Republicans of the North had made in some of the Southern States one-half of the effort made by them in some of the Northern States, I doubt very much if there ever would have been any "Solid South" for the Democratic party. Henceforth, at every election, the great orators of the Republican party should be sent South during a part of the campaign, and in certain localities should remain until the final count and canvass is completed.

Second. At least one first-class Republican newspaper should be established in every Southern State.

Third. The National Government should undertake the work of education, not by distributing a national fund to each State, but by establishing a system of national public schools. To give to each of the Southern States a certain portion of a national fund, to be expended by the Democratic officials of their State without the supervision by the Government, would be to contribute so much money for the continued supremacy of the Democratic party in the South. It is true, the amount of money required to establish a system of national public schools would be enormous, but it would be money well spent, and might save the expenses of another civil war. Unless the white people of the South are educated, and properly educated, the South will remain solid for many years to come. There is more danger to the South in the ignorance of its white voters, than there is in the ignorance of its black voters. Under a system of national public schools, of course, both whites and blacks would receive a first-class education.

Fourth. If it were possible, the immigration of Republicans in large numbers to the South would greatly aid in breaking up the "Solid South." For instance, the establishment of colonies of white Republicans in different parts of South Carolina.

There is another question submitted by you, to which I shall briefly respond. You ask, "What would the South like to have from Northern politicians, the Republican party and the President-elect?" By this question you evidently mean what would the Democrats of the South like to have from the President-elect. Judging from the tone of their newspapers, and from daily conversations with them, I rather think that they would like to have President Garfield give them all of the Federal offices in the South. It is usual for the Democrats in the South, after having been beaten in a political contest, to endeavor to snatch the fruits of victory from their opponents, by capturing the successful candidate by flattery and intrigue. I have no doubt that Democratic Senators and Representatives from the South will be perfectly willing to give President Garfield's administration "a fair trial," if he will appoint such men as they recommend to Federal offices in the South. It is time for Republicans to learn that no Democrat in the South was ever converted to Republicanism by being appointed to a Federal position. On the contrary, the bitterest enemies of Republicanism in the South are Democrats who have from time to time been appointed to Federal office. One thing is certain, the "Solid South" will never disband because of the appointment of Democrats in the South to Federal offices by a Republican administration. A rigid exclusion of all Democrats from Federal offices under a Republican administration, will do more towards building up a Republican party in the South, than will be done by the appointment of such men.

Yours, respectfully,

E. W. M. MACKEY.

SENATOR WADE HAMPTON.

WADE HAMPTON has played such an important part in South Carolina politics since the war, and is so thoroughly representative of the ruling power in that State under the present *regime*, that it is on all accounts unfortunate that he has found time to indorse our inquiries only in the following brief and meaningless, though courteous, response:

UNITED STATES SENATE,
WASHINGTON, February 5th, 1881.

To the Editor of THE AMERICAN.

SIR: While I am in full sympathy with the object you have in view,—that of bringing about a better understanding between the North and the South,—I cannot find time to answer your questions properly. They cover too wide a field. But I hope that the discussion that they will wake will be productive of good to the whole country. I am,

Very respectfully yours,

WADE HAMPTON.

THE INFINITE.

(FROM THE ITALIAN OF LEOPARDI.)

I love this little quiet upland croft,
This hedge that shows clear-cut against the sky,
The interminable fields of space beyond,
The deep far-spreading silence and repose;
And as I sit and gaze I think that soon
Within that realm my heart no more will fear.
I hear the light susurrus of the wind
Among the leaves—a whispered word amid
The everlasting silence of the sky;
This whisper with that silence I compare,
And strong my spirit grows within my breast;
Death seems the gateway to eternal life,
These voices are the whisper of the All.
Thus, like a barque that sinks beneath the waves,
In this immensity my thought is lost,
And shipwreck in this sea to me is sweet.

W. S. KENNEDY.

THE FUTURE OF AMERICAN LETTERS.

A GOOD deal of concern has been lately expressed as to the future of our literature. In this country the feeling has found utterance in a fear that our most eminent living authors will have no worthy successors. In England, however, according to the view of the London *Times*, the question is whether the literary work already done here is sufficiently meritorious to warrant anything more encouraging than an unreasoning, not to say unreasonable, hope of future progress. Though the sneering inquiry, "Who reads an American book?" has been long since set at rest, the quality of our books is still a subject for complacent commiseration with some of our British critics. Indeed, the fact that American authors find numerous readers abroad is, from this critical point of view, a strong point against the excellence of their productions. It is the discriminating few, and not the unthinking many, whose judgment is to be relied on in this matter, and, of course, these oracular critics constitute this select, decisive minority. The ground for such a discouraging view of the future of American letters is the disproportion between the material and the intellectual results of our progress. The fact that the United States have made such astonishing advances in physical well-being is used as a reproach to their mental condition. Our comfort is made to serve as a rebuke to our culture. Such an estimate of our position ignores the necessary limitations of American literary development. The rapidity and extent of our industrial and mercantile activities have naturally hampered our progress in purely intellectual pursuits. These require a degree of leisure and independence of the demands of the struggle for subsistence which do not exist among us. In fact, we are, in many respects, in a less favorable position for high literary productiveness than was the period which developed the authors who represent the most advanced stage of our intellectual progress. The living writers by whose standard of excellence we naturally try their successors of to-day, were fortunate in not possessing many things which we are accustomed to regard as advantages. Life was simpler when Longfellow, Emerson, Holmes, Whittier and Lowell began to write, than it now is. There were not so many objects to distract the thoughtful, contemplative man as at present. Books were comparatively few, but they were of a higher class than the average publications of to-day. Moreover, reading was then something of an intellectual exercise, instead of a form of mental dissipation. The British and foreign classics that were in the households of well-to-do people afforded substantial nutriment, rather than sentimental titillation. Scientific iconoclasm had not yet come in to unsettle traditional beliefs, or to sweep away the cherished fancies which had their basis in a freedom from the spirit of critical investigation that is now so rife. The imagination could still avail itself of images and illustrations which have since lost their significance and influence through the disturbing tendencies of historical and scientific skepticism. Whatever may have been the drawbacks to the development of the literary spirit fifty years ago, they were not such as result from a radical change in the mental moods, processes, and conditions of the people, as has accompanied their intense eager striving for material advancement.

No doubt, the very advantages of this great change, as regards our future literary development, are unfavorable to its present manifestations. We are in that transition state in which the authority of the past has been taken away, before any adequate substitute has been provided for it. Our boldest literary mariners are in the position of a captain of a vessel, who has had his compass and sextant swept overboard, and is obliged to depend upon his natural or acquired resources in navigating the craft. It is inability to comprehend and master the situation, that makes our less adventurous voyagers cling to those methods and associations which are more or less opposed to the advancing spirit of the age. For one such hardy, rugged pilot as Walt Whitman, "pleased with the danger, when the waves run high," we have dozens of in-shore, fair-weather sailors, who are afraid to trust themselves out of sight of the familiar landmarks. Our position in this respect does not differ materially from that of our English cousins, whose criticisms of our dependence upon their modes of thought and expression ignore the conditions of our literary development. It is forgotten that we are legitimate heirs to the riches of British literature, and that not only have we a right to all the assistance we can derive from it, but that such assistance is essential to our independent progress. Before the transplanted tree can take root in a new soil, and branch forth in fresh vigor, it must have time to avail itself of the influences which are derived from its past position and training. It is a hopeful, rather than a discouraging, sign for the future of American letters, that our authors have been so powerfully affected by their ancestral literature. A hundred years are a short time in the history of a nation, and especially short in the history of a nation which has had to fight not only the battle with Nature for subsistence, but a contest with its parents and with its brothers for existence. In all these struggles there is rich material for literature, but it cannot be turned to its highest uses till time has thrown about it something of the glamor of romance. As the glory and the grace of feudalism waited for their glowing interpretation by the genius of Sir Walter Scott, as Tennyson's master-work deals, not with the scenes and incidents of his own time, but with the far-off days of chivalry, so the

adequate representation, in prose or poetry, of the first century of American history may have to be deferred for many centuries. There will, no doubt, be worthy illustrations of incidents and phases of this period, in the not remote future; but for comprehensive, ideal treatment of it, the world must wait until the purple hues of distance have softened, mellowed, transfigured the elements, which will long be too rough and crude for a fine, poetic purpose. The same remark may be made of historical representations of this period, whose proportions cannot be defined until the centuries have supplied the standard by which to judge them. Bancroft and Hildreth, with all their merits, have given us little more than materials for history, and if Parkman has been more successful in imparting naturalness to his works, the character of his subjects, as well as their greater remoteness from the life of to-day, will partially account for this difference.

The future of American letters opens up a prospect of such expression of the significance of the democratic principle as has never been had. If this Government of ours endures, it can hardly fail to imbue the people with nobler and loftier ideas of nature and life than are possible under the limitations of personal or class rule. Mr. Webster once expressed the hope that, while this country should provide an ample field for a thousand masters of the historic art, it would afford no topic for a Gibbon. It would have no decline and fall. The influence of a prolonged enjoyment of well-ordered republican freedom will be seen in the development of individual as well of national independence and dignity. Broader and truer appreciation of the character and destiny of humanity will result from this development. Not only will human beings be regarded from new points of view, but nature will assume new aspects from the reflected light of knowledge of man. Poetic feeling for natural beauty is, as is well known, essentially of modern growth; with all the imaginative freshness of the antique spirit, it did not discern the deep significance which wood and stream, valley and hill, rock and wave, have had to the observation which is suffused with the tenderness of a comprehensive humanitarianism.

In fiction, and in the poetry which aims to express the emotion of the time as distinct from the phases which human feeling has manifested in past times, American literature has in the future a field commensurate with the progress of the country, in fusing and harmonizing the varied elements of its population. The complaint that the great American novel, though hourly expected, still provokingly holds off, is really unreasonable, in view of the crude and disorganized condition of our social life. The elements of society, as a whole, must become more homogeneous before the novelist can develop, on a large scale, creations that shall appeal with equal force to the dwellers in the centres and on the outskirts of our civilization. We have had some admirable studies and sketches of character in the extremes of Eastern and Western life, but they have lacked the breadth of view which is essential to the highest work in this department. We must look to the future for the means by which the literary spirit in this and other directions can be broadened and deepened. There must be a large accumulation of essentially native thought and expression, before the individuality of American authorship can make itself felt as a distinctive and potent force in letters. So long as we are dependent upon English literature for intellectual nutriment, our books will betray this dependence. Unless our point of view be original and national, the objects will catch the reflection of alien sentiment and style. This condition of things will last just so long as we are deficient in the leisure and taste for independent effort. The sooner our institutions of learning are equipped with the means of educating students, not simply for the busy whirl of professional or mercantile activity, but for the calm pursuits of scholarship, the sooner will our capacity for literary productiveness be adequately developed. Though these institutions cannot create genius, they can furnish the stimulus which is necessary to its growth. In view of our present lack of the conditions of rapid literary progress, such progress is not likely to be exhibited in the near future. Although great authors sometimes appear when they are least expected, they do not spring up by accident. The plant must have a congenial soil in which to flourish, and the soil which has produced fine and stately growths is not likely to speedily bring to perfection other and different growths. A period of striking literary excellence is always followed by one of comparative inferiority. It is too early, therefore, to look for successors to Longfellow, Emerson, Holmes, Whittier and Lowell. Gifted as some of our younger writers are, they do not give promise of marking, like their predecessors, an era in American letters. Most of them are concerned more with the art of expression than with the value of the ideas or sentiments expressed. All this is the natural result of the composite character of our literary and artistic work. The multiplicity of our inherited treasures makes the art of selection and adaptation more congenial to many of our writers than that of creation. Our most original authors have not escaped the enfeebling influence of dependence upon the past. To this is due the limitations of the literary art, which carves camei, instead of statues, and contracts its portraits to the dimensions of a miniature. Imperfect and partial sympathy with the progressive spirit of the age is naturally shown in the literature which endeavors to represent it. The signs are hopeful, however, for

the revival of that interest in the ideal which is the reflex of the waning power of materialism, alike in life and letters. It is in the unfolding of higher and nobler ideas of living, as connected with the development of democracy, that the future of American literature will find its truest and widest influence and scope.

LITERATURE.

RUSKIN'S ARROWS OF THE CHACE.

IT was an editor of an American journal who, when compelled to print a letter from his Washington correspondent, which spoiled several reams of his own editorial predictions, remarked that the correspondent was "fearfully and wonderfully misinformed, but wrote well and made error interesting." Not a few readers, we fancy, will be inclined to pass a similar opinion upon the author of the volume before us ("Arrows of the Chace," by John Ruskin). Mr. Ruskin rides a great many hobbies, and often gallops them to death; he takes jaundiced views of modern society, and especially of modern England; he has a strong vein of eccentricity in his composition, which is not becoming less notable with years, and he never was remarkable for patience. Yet he is one of the half-dozen great writers of English left to us; no one will doubt his capacity or honesty, and it is in such compositions as these "Arrows of the Chace" that we see him at his best. He has well observed that in the building of a large book there are always places where an indulgent diffuseness weakens the fancy, and prolonged strain subdues the energy; whereas, these letters "were written with fully-provoked zeal, under strict allowance of space and time," and so contain the choicest and most needful things he could within narrow limits say, out of many contending to be said, which are expressed with deliberate precision, and are recommended by the best art he had in illustration or emphasis. They cover a wide period of his life—some forty years—and the range of their subjects is wide, from art, science and political economy, down to street-sweeping, servant-girls and oak-silkworms. It need not be said that they abound in vigorous and eloquent passages, and in valuable practical hints, but we shall, perhaps, not be far wrong in declaring that the appreciative reader will dwell longest and most lovingly over the frequent revelations of the author's character, and his likes and dislikes—we should say, his idolatries and abhorrences—and the forcible Jeremiahs he is never weary of preaching concerning the decay and degeneracy of the time.

Nothing, for instance, would have been better in its style than the characterization expressed in 1847, when Ruskin declared that he had been "accustomed to look to England as the refuge of the pictorial, as of all other distresses, and to hope that, having no high art of her own, she would, at least, protect what she could not produce, and respect what she could not restore," and cling to "the one last trust that, though her National Gallery was an European jest, her art a shadow, and her connoisseurship a hypocrisy, though she neither knew how to cherish, nor how to choose, and lay exposed to the cheats of every vendor of old canvas—yet, that such good pictures as through chance or oversight might find their way beneath that preposterous portico, and into those melancholy and miserable rooms, were, at least, to be vindicated thenceforward from the mercy of republican, priest or painter, safe, alike, from musketry, monkery and manipulation." Nor could anything be more practical, and altogether excellent, than the advice to a young artist (pp. 22-24), or the suggestions for the collection and exhibition of pictures (pp. 50-52). With the admirable letters on the pre-Raphaelites and on Turner, we shall not deal to-day; we prefer quitting the domain of art for the other provinces in which Mr. Ruskin takes such earnest in roaming.

In 1859, at the time of the Austro-Italian war, we chance upon an interesting picture of Radetzky. "He was one of the kindest of men," we read; "his habitual expression was one of overflowing *bonhomie*, or of fatherly regard for the welfare of all around him. All who knew him loved him. In little things his kindness was almost ludicrous. I saw him at Verona run out of his own supper-room and return with a plate of soup in his hand, the waiters (his youngest *aides-de-camp*) not serving his lady guests fast enough to please him; yet they were nimble enough, as I knew in a race with two of them among the fire-flies by the Mincio only the evening before." Then follows an incisive sentence which reveals the secret of the Austro-Italian situation before Cavour, Garibaldi and Victor Emmanuel arose: "Unselfish individually, the Austrians nationally are entirely selfish, and in this consists, so far as it is truly alleged against them, their barbarism." He is always vehement in opposition to England's modern policy of non-intervention. "We say of ourselves complacently," he writes during the last Polish rising of 1863, "that we will not go to war for an idea; but the phrase interpreted means only that we will go to war for a bale of goods, but not for justice, nor for mercy;" and a year later, *apropos* of the much more righteous case of despoiled Denmark, he writes: "We English, as a nation, know not, and care not to know, a single broad or basic principle of human justice. We have only our instincts to guide us. We will hit anybody again who hits us. We will take care of our own families and our own pockets; and we are characterized in our present phase of enlightenment mainly by rage in speculation; lavish expenditure on suspicion or panic; generosity wherein generosity is useless; anxiety for the souls of savages,—regardless of those of civilized nations; enthusiasm for liberation of blacks,—apathy to enslavement of whites; proper horror of regicide,—polite respect for populicide; sympathy with those whom we can no longer serve, and reverence for the dead whom we have ourselves delivered to death." Forcible, without a doubt; but is it true?

Like Carlyle, Ruskin warmly supported Governor Eyre's course at the time of the Jamaica outbreak, and denounced the "fatuous outcry" against that official, and, like Carlyle, he was altogether in favor of Germany and against France in the struggle of 1870-1. The war he declared to be "a simple and testing struggle between pure

Republicanism on the one side, expressed in the most exquisite, finished and exemplary anarchy yet achieved under earth, and one of the truest monarchies and schools of honor and obedience yet organized under Heaven;" but whereas Carlyle was almost implacable in his hatred of "the *cartouche* of nations," Ruskin was for England's intervention, denouncing his own country as "poor, yet not careful to keep even the treasure of probity; and rich, without being able to afford itself the luxury of our age." In a letter in 1876, by the way, he foretold with considerable accuracy, the outcome of modern improvements in warfare. "In a perfectly scientific era of seaman-ship," he wrote, "we shall see two adverse fleets affected by a constant law of mutual repulsion, at distances of two or three hundred miles; while in either squadron, an occasional collision between the leading ships, or inexplicable foundering of the last improved ones, will make these prudential manœuvres, on the whole, as destructive of the force, and about ten times more costly to the pocket, of the nation, than the ancient and perhaps more honorable tactics of poorly-armed pugnacity." America he disliked as fervently as Carlyle disliked it. "Do not attempt to learn from it," he said; "an Englishman has brains enough to discover for himself what is good for England; and should learn, when he is to be taught anything, from his fathers—not from his children." The position is a curious one, considering what England and Englishmen are, upon Mr. Ruskin's own showing! Co-operation he opposes, because "every year sees our workmen more eager to do bad work and rob their customers on the sly, and all political movement among such animals is essentially fermentation and putrefaction—not co-operation." To the artists of Sheffield he declared blandly, "You can't have art where you have smoke; you may have it in hell, perhaps, (for the devil is too clever not to consume his own smoke, if he wants to,) but you will never have it in Sheffield. If for no other reason, no artist worth six pence a day would live in Sheffield, nor would anyone who cared for pictures, for a million a year." "Your Sheffield iron-work department," he wrote again, "will necessarily contain the most barbarous abortions that human rudeness has ever produced with human fingers." To a "Blind Pension Society, he announced that he made it a fixed principle never to join in any invalid charities, because "all the foolish world is ready to help in them." "Young men," he held on another occasion, "have no business with politics at all,"—a dogma he was later to repeat with more startling force. Mill he tersely described as "a poor cretinous wretch." "You are all entirely fools," he wrote to the president of a woman's society; "the duty of a man is to support his wife and children, and that of a woman is to make him happy at home, and bring up his children wisely." "So far from wishing to give votes to women," he announced on another occasion, "I would fain take them away from most men." And finally, in October last, Mr. Ruskin scaled the lofty ladder of his disgust with everything and everybody, and drew it up after him, in his memorable letter to the Glasgow students: "What in the devil's name have *you* to do with either Mr. Disraeli or Mr. Gladstone? You are students at the University, and have no more business with politics than you have with rat-catching. Had you ever read ten words of mine with understanding, you would have known that I care no more for Mr. Disraeli or Mr. Gladstone than for two old bagpipes with the drones going by steam; but that I hate all Liberalism as I do Beelzebub, and that, with Carlyle, I stand,—we two alone now in England,—for God and the Queen."

The comparison Mr. Ruskin has himself chosen was not a hasty or inapt one. In mental constitution he strongly resembles the author of "The French Revolution." There is the same haughty impatience of dissent or contradiction; the same tendency to eloquent denunciation or eulogy, which will have no practical effect; the same lack of sympathy with progress or popular rights. Adulation has done much to spoil him, as it effectually spoiled Carlyle. If Ruskin's mind were two-sided, and if he could but be subjected to a judicious course of "baiting," supplemented by a six months' tour in the United States, we should have some hope that his would be a genial and fruitful old age. As it is, his conceit, eccentricity, and intolerance, which have of late increased in geometrical progression, are likely, in the course of a very short time, either to develop into madness or drivelling. Should he live to the great age attained by Carlyle, it will be found that, like Carlyle, his last years have been a blank to the world. "All that he has written," a clever critic has told us, "since his first appeal to the public, has been inspired by this conviction—that an appreciation of the truth in art reveals to him who has it the truth in everything. This belief has been the source of Mr. Ruskin's greatest successes, and of his most complete and ludicrous failures. It has made him the admiration of the world one week, and the object of its placid pity or broad laughter the next. A being who could be Joan of Arc to-day and Voltaire's Pucelle to-morrow, would hardly exhibit a stronger physical paradox than the eccentric genius of Mr. Ruskin sometimes illustrates. But in order to do him justice, and not to regard him as a mere erratic utterer of eloquent contradictions, poured out on the impulse of each moment's new freak of fancy, we must always bear in mind the fundamental faith of the man. Extravagant as this or that doctrine may be, outrageous as to-day's contradiction of yesterday's assertion may sound, yet the whole career is consistent with its essential principles and beliefs." It may be fairly questioned whether Mr. Ruskin has any great qualities but his eloquence and his true, honest love of nature. The restlessness of his temperament, combined with the extraordinary self-sufficiency which contributed so much to his success where he was master of a subject, sent him perpetually intruding into fields where he was unfit to labor, and enterprises which he had no capacity to conduct. Seldom has a man contradicted himself so often, so recklessly, and so complacently. It is venturesome to call him a great critic, even in art; for he seldom expresses any opinion one day without flatly contradicting it the next. He is a great writer, as Rousseau was,—fresh, eloquent, audacious, writing out of the fullness of the present mood, and heedless how far the impulse of to-day may contravene that of yesterday. But as Rousseau was always faithful to his idea of truth, so Ruskin is always faithful to nature; when all his errors, and paradoxes, and contradictions shall have

been utterly forgotten, this will remain to his praise. And the reader who peruses the volume we have thus briefly noticed, though he will often be disappointed and sometimes even exasperated, will rise from its perusal convinced of the great talent and earnestness of its author, if not always of his practicality and common sense. John Wiley & Son, New York, 15 Astor Place. 1881.

THE CHURCH OF THE FUTURE.—The Archbishop of Canterbury's book, "The Church of the Future," by Archibald Campbell Tait, Archbishop of Canterbury, which has been published in Macmillan's most attractive style, will be found interesting and profitable reading, even to those who ordinarily take little pleasure in theological literature. The Primate's exalted rank and well-known ability would in any case commend such a book to the reading world as possessing importance and charm; but the casual reader will be not a little surprised, we take it, as well as greatly pleased, with this work, for its breadth of spirit, practicality, intelligence and vigor. The several chapters comprised in the volume, which treat of the Church of the Future, its Catholicity, its Conflicts with Atheists, the Deist and the Rationalist, its Dogmatic Teachings, Practical Counsels for its Work, and its Cathedrals, were in their original form so many charges delivered during the Archbishop's visitations of his diocese last year, when, departing from the usual custom of discussing mere matters of local interest, he took for his theme the characteristics of the age, and the necessity for the adaptation of its methods by the Anglican Church to the changed condition of things. "Every year," says the Archbishop Lambeth, "it is becoming more and more a centre to which the whole Anglican communion looks, and every year that communion is coming to be regarded more and more as the centre for all the churches that protest against Rome, facts which reveal themselves most perceptibly in the increased labors of the Primacy." The Oriental Christians, the Old Catholics and the Gallicans, as well as the various Protestant Episcopal organizations and missionary enterprises, claim and receive the Archbishop's sympathy, which is broad enough to include also the non-conforming Christians. "I suppose we none of us forget," he says, "how much the Church of England owes in its formularies to the Augsburg Confession, and how little chance there would have been, humanly speaking, of the Reformation spreading with power if God had not raised up its champion in Luther. * * * The boundaries of separation between us and the Continental Protestants, who hold fast by the fundamentals of the Gospel, fade to an indistinct line; and shall we not, from our necessary connection with them, learn many lessons to guide us in our dealings with our non-conforming brethren at home and their representatives in the United States? It will be our fault if the great Protestant communities throughout the world, Episcopal and non-Episcopal, which adhere to the Apostolic faith, do not feel that their cause is indissolubly united with our own." In England, necessarily, churchmen regard it as their duty to resist all efforts for subverting the national constitution of their church, and find it impossible to have a near union of worship and teaching with those who altogether repudiate their forms of prayer and of church government; but none the less is it their duty, the Archbishop declares, to cultivate friendly relations with the dissenters where it is possible, and also to seek occasions where all may act unitedly for the spiritual welfare of the nation. The Oxford movement commends itself to him as having brought about a more reverent appreciation of the value of the outward forms of religion, and inspired a large section of the clergy to observe more rigidly the duties of their sacred office, though the objection is hinted—a natural one from the Archbishop's liberal standpoint—that the teaching thus resuscitated is based upon a somewhat narrow system, and has confined the sympathies of Churchmen in the direction in which before they were ready to expand. The Burial Act is hailed as likely to promote tolerance and good-feeling, and the Public Worship Regulation Act as having accomplished its purpose in spite of "fanatics, who desire to be imprisoned as martyrs, and foolish opponents of those persons, who would seek to gratify their thirst for an easy martyrdom."

The Archbishop admits that the aspect of Christian society in the present day is somewhat troubled, and though he sees Roman Catholicism reviving in strange and unexpected fashion, and attracting numbers to it, as if it were the only antidote to infidelity, he believes that infidelity will prove the more formidable foe; that men will never be cured of believing too little by unscrupulous attempts to involve them in believing too much. He does not fear that an atheistical agnosticism, or, still less, a dogmatic atheism, is the philosophy of the future, destined to establish itself on the ruins of the Church, though fears may well be entertained that before such systems are smitten with the sword of sound argument, they may do much harm to unstable souls. The true cure for error is not to be found in speculations, but in that practical grasp of truth which unites the soul to God and the spiritual world through the daily-growing purification and elevation of the life and character. From the cold Deism, from which England had some difficulty in making its escape a century ago, there may be more to be feared,—the setting up of natural religion (though the modern religion is grounded on the suggestions of the conscience and the heart, and not merely on the conclusions of pure intellect,) in the place of revealed. But for the logical Theist, Dr. Tait has a good deal of respect and hope. "A good Theist," he says (page 83), "if he is true to his convictions, and does, in very truth, realize them, will keep near to the God he acknowledges, by placing himself in the attitude of prayer. He will love the true, the pure and the holy, professing to look up to One who is absolute truth, purity and holiness. If he does all this, he is not far from the Kingdom of God, and is surely bound, by the rules of sound logic, and in accordance with the dictates of his highest reason and the voices of his best nature, to go forward and become a Christian." But most dangerous of all seems to be a meagre, sublimated Christianity—that which presents itself under the guise of an improved and more rational Christianity, speaking with the greatest respect of Christ and his apostles, and even admitting that the historical Christ is, in some sense, a wonderful manifestation of God brought near to man. On

this subject, by the way, note on page 93, the authentic version of a familiar anecdote concerning the "young German" who remarked to the future Archbishop, when the latter confronted him with the fifteenth chapter of First Corinthians, "He was a good man,—Paulus,—but he had his fancies; and this was one of them." Even of these opponents, however, the Archbishop has hope; for it is not with the positive but with the negative part of the modern so-called philosophic theory of Christianity that he finds fault; and though he desires that they would add a fuller dogmatic teaching of all the Christian verities to what their system has already grasped, his chief effort would be to have them to live according to their faith,—to find, first, and dwell most earnestly upon, the points upon which Christian and Neo-Platonist can make common cause.

Holding these views and actuated by this spirit, one is not surprised to find the Primate welcoming a just freedom of thought and the full development of scientific research. Though many questions connected with the form in which theology is taught may require reconsideration and readjustment, the Church may hold fast the substance of its theological teaching. The Church of the future, the guide of the coming age, will hold fast the faith set forth in the Bible, without plunging into vain discussions as to the precise mode and limits of the inspiration of the writers of the sacred books. Its exaltation of Holy Scripture as a guide will not supersede all claims of authority; forms it must have for expressing its worship and its belief in the cardinal points of the Christian faith, though it will act wisely in directing its attention as little as possible to the mere formal, as opposed to the more spiritual part of religion. It will ever be on its guard against any lowering of its standard as to what is sin—against that dangerous tendency of the present age to regard sin rather as a misfortune or a mistake, than a fault and corruption. The doctrine of original sin, pointing to the necessity of a prevenient and sustaining grace, will be approved, and the old sacraments, ordinances and forms be maintained. In fact, the Archbishop would make such a church as the old Church of Parker and Hooker, freed from certain modern accretions which have grown round its authoritative creed in times of deadness or of unnatural activity, "the same reformed old Church of England—Catholic in its connection with antiquity, and, with the Universal Church, Protestant in its opposition to the peculiar encroachments of the Roman See."

If any one would gain a just idea of the earnestness, practicality and moderation of the Archbishop's mind and of the masculine simplicity of his style, by no means incompatible with color and harmony, he should read the section (pp. 151-157) devoted to practical counsels on the intellectual side of the clergyman's responsibilities. Though the book may prove, in a measure, disappointing to those who, from its title, may have fancied that it dealt with the subject less locally and practically, it will not fail to please all reasonable folks with its evidence of the true Christian spirit of humility and humanity. It has been made a subject of reproach to Dr. Tait that he was not sufficiently impressive and awfully archiepiscopal for the Primate of so important a Church, and that an Established Church. Perhaps the same captious critics may find like fault with the volume lying before us; but what to them may seem defects will, we are confident, by the great mass of readers whose good opinion is worth having, be regarded as precious beauties, and the Archbishop himself will appear in the attractive light of the good man immortalized by Chaucer, who taught the love of Christ and His Apostles, but first followed it himself. (London and New York: Macmillan & Co.)

D R I F T.

—A remarkable bibliographical treasure is the splendid work on Florence, by M. Charles Yriarte, recently published by J. Rothschild, 13 Rue des Saints-Pères, Paris. It is an *ouvrage de luxe*, in folio, 410 pp., Elzevir text, tinted paper, 500 illustrations (of which 80 are full page plates, many of them in colors), 75 reproductions of paintings, frescoes, etc., 100 portraits, etc. The work forms a pendant to the author's *Venice*.

—*La Presse* of Paris has a pleasant account of the modelling of a bust of Littré, by the sculptor Gustave Dèloye. M. Dèloye had long been haunted by the wish to model the head of Littré. One day he summoned all his resolution, jumped into a carriage, drove to the house of Littré, in the Rue d'Assas, knocked, and inquired in a stammering voice for *Madame Littré*. On being shown into the *salon*, he found there the venerable Littré himself, seated in an arm-chair by the fire. Mme. Littré presently enters, words of pleasantry are exchanged, Dèloye remarking, among other things, that, ever since he saw in Florence a bust of Machiavelli, by Donatello, he had been dreaming of taking the portrait of Littré; M. Littré smiles at this, is taken by the appearance of the young sculptor, and promises him an hour in his (the sculptor's) *atelier*. On the appointed day, M. Littré goes to the artist's studio, accompanied by his wife and daughter, and the bust is modelled. A critic pronounces the bust to be of a "character almost monumental, superb in construction and expression."

—Henry Carey Baird & Co., will issue in April, "A Practical Treatise on the Manufacture of Starch, Dextrine and Glucose," illustrated; also in March, "A Technical Treatise on Soap and Candles, with a Glance at the Industry of Fats and Oils," by R. S. Cristiani. The Friends' Book Association will issue in two or three weeks, "Memoirs of Samuel M. Janney," author of "Life of Fox," etc.

—A valuable work of reference for linguists is the "Catalogue of a Selection of (Native) American Grammars, Dictionaries, Catechisms, &c.," collected by Julius Platzman, Leipzig.

—The complete poetical works of Paul Hamilton Hayne will shortly appear from the press of Messrs. Roberts Brothers.

—The Baptist Publication Society announce "The Christian Experience," by D. W. Faunce, D.D.; and "Montalto; or, the Baudois of Calabria," by Miss L. Bates.

—M. Edmond About has sold his interest in the journal that he founded, the *XXI. Siècle*. He does not, however, relinquish the editorial chair, but will devote more attention to politics.

—Out of one hundred and twenty-five dramatic pieces played at the *Hof-theater* in Karlsruhe last year, eight were Shakespearean dramas, and were performed altogether seventeen times. This is gratifying. Formerly it was the custom of at least one theatre in Karlsruhe to charge half price when classical plays were put upon the boards; and throughout Germany, at the time when a classical drama was played, a theatre was apt to be classically empty.

—From a paper read at a meeting a few days since in Chicago of the Trade and Labor Union, some curious facts are elicited respecting shoemaking in that city; no apprentices are needed or taken in that occupation; the sub-division of labor having destroyed the elements of skill that required long study and practice. The wonderful machinery utilized in shoemaking has divided the making of a shoe into sixty-four parts, each a distinct branch or speciality, at which a man, woman or child is constantly kept at work, to the number of 2,800, whose average of wages all round is about one dollar per day. This extraordinary sub-division of labor has destroyed trade-unionism, as regards shoemaking. Competition is intense, and to start manufacturing with any hope of success requires a capital of \$5,000 to \$25,000. The factories have wiped out utterly all domestic manufacture, and shoemakers can no longer, as they were a few years ago, be their own employers, and boots and shoes pass directly from the producer to the consumer. The report says: "The constant employment at one sixty-fourth part of a shoe not only offers no encouragement to mental activity, but dulls by monotony the brain of the employé to such an extent that the power to think and reason is almost lost." This is truly a sad deduction as regards the workman.

—An International Musical Exposition will be held at Milan, Italy, in the spring. Music will hold the place of honor. The Exposition will be held in the building of the Conservatory, and will comprise five distinct groups: 1st, the Score and Musical Works; 2d, Didactical Treatises and Methods; 3d, all that relates to the Literature of Music; 4th, *Lutherie* and Instruments; 5th, Antiquarian. The president of the French section is M. Ambroise Thomas.

—M. Ernest Legouvé, member of the French Academy, is preparing a volume of memoirs of the men of letters whom he has known during his long career.

—International expositions seem to be the order of the day in Europe. Vienna is to have an International Art Exhibition. The undertaking is yet in embryo, but there is now no doubt of its success. The artists are supported in their project by several wealthy Viennese, among whom are Count Edmund Zichy, Baron Albert Rothschild, Nikolaus Dumba. Baron Rothschild has declared himself ready to advance the sum necessary for enlarging the Art Building, and others will sign a guarantee fund to cover the cost. The date of the Exhibition is not announced.

—A writer in *L'Intermédiaire des Chercheurs et Curieux* gossips pleasantly about the famous persons and *gens d'esprit* who have been deformed or malformed. "The list of such persons would be a long one, indeed. At the head of them would stand Moses and Demosthenes, and the list would close with David, the French painter, and Camille Desmoulins." As to gibbosed persons, the writer cites the case of Saint Pavin, who depicted himself as follows: "In the midst of my back there rises a heap of bones and flesh pointed like a steeple." "To be mentioned here, also, is the mysterious contest of Talleyrand (lame from his childhood) with Reuliel, member of the Directory, whose eyes squinted horribly. It is said that after having thrown his inkstand at the head of the old Archbishop of Autun, Reuliel apostrophized him in this manner: 'Vile émigré, your mind is no more rightly formed than your foot.' But Talleyrand took his revenge by replying that his adversary could not see straight."

—The prize medal of the International Fishery Exposition (Germany) is described as a splendid work of art, rivalling the ancient Greek coins in beauty of design and delicacy of finish. The artist is the well-known *medaillleur* of Stuttgart, Herr Karl Scwenzer, a pupil of the Stuttgart Court-engraver Schiller. The likeness of Crown Prince Frederick William is particularly fine—the Prince having set several times to Scwenzer for the work. The reverse of the medal shows a mermaid, wearing a necklace of pearls, in her right hand a laurel wreath; the left, resting lightly upon a rudder, holds up a fishing net. Her glance is directed toward the sea.

CORRESPONDENCE.

THE LEGAL STATUS OF THE INDIAN.

To the Editor of THE AMERICAN.

SIR: In one of the editorial notes of your issue of January 29, I think you have misapprehended the legal status of the North American Indian. The learning on this subject, being comprised in scattered decisions of the United States Courts, opinions of Attorneys-General, and different articles of the Constitution, has never become popular, and very few, outside of the legal profession, have any clear idea of the position in which an Indian stands, with regard to civil rights.

You say, an Indian in Nebraska, whose vote was refused at the recent election, has appealed to the United States Courts to know why; and you add: "The language of the amendment itself, and the terms used by the Supreme Court in interpreting it, both indicate that his demand to vote will be sustained."

I admit that, if certain conditions are fulfilled, the court will probably decide in the Indian's favor. But I must dissent from the conclusions you draw.

You say: "But we do not see how the court can do so, without depriving the arrangements made with the Indians of the status they have heretofore held as treaties. No government can make a treaty with its own subjects. . . . The decision by the court, that this Indian is a citizen, would make every other Indian a citizen, whether he wished to have that status or not. . . . Nor is it desirable to add to the two millions of ignorant and illiterate voters we now have, the multitudes of Indians who reside in States like Nebraska and Colorado."

The sentence where you say that if the court decides that this Indian is a citizen, every other Indian must be a citizen, contains the gist of your remarks, and is the conclusion to which I object.

The Indians were not made citizens by the Fourteenth Amendment, which says: "All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens." This was decided by the case of *McKay vs. Campbell* (2 Saw-

yer, 118), which arose in 1871, soon after the passing of the amendment. A half-breed Indian sued the inspectors of election for refusing him his ballot, and pleaded the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments. The Fifteenth Amendment, which says: "The right of the citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied, or abridged, by the United States, or any State, on account of race, color," etc., would give him the vote, if the Fourteenth Amendment would give him the citizenship. But the court held, that in order to become a citizen, a person, if not naturalized, must not only be born in the United States, but must also be born subject to its jurisdiction. Otherwise, the amendment would mean too much; for many persons, such as the children of ambassadors, born in the United States, yet are not citizens, because born out of its jurisdiction. Indians are not born within the jurisdiction of the United States, but within the jurisdiction of their tribes or nations, which are independent political communities.

The existence of the Indian tribes as distinct political communities was settled in 1831 by the case of the Cherokee Nation *vs.* the State of Georgia (5 Peters, 1). In giving his opinion in that famous case, Chief Justice Marshall said, "The condition of the Indians in relation to the United States is perhaps unlike that of any other two people in existence;" and he goes on to show how a new definition must be given to the word "State," in order to describe the relation of the Indian tribes to the general Government. They are not foreign States or States of the Union; and, yet, they are political entities, governing themselves by their own laws, holding land with title against all the world, and making treaties with the United States. (See also *Worcester vs. Georgia*, 6 Peters, 575; *United States vs. Forty-three Gallons of Whiskey*, 93 U. S., 188.)

The state of affairs created by the decision in *McKay vs. Campbell*, which denied citizenship to the Indians under the amendment, continued until 1878, when a new distinction was raised in the case *ex p. Reynolds* (18 Alb. L. J., 8).

In that case, a man was charged with murdering another. It was claimed on one side that both men were Indians; on the other that one was a citizen of the United States. If one was a citizen, the court had jurisdiction; if both were Indians, the court had no jurisdiction, and it was an affair for Indian law. It is needless to go into the details of the long opinion; it is sufficient to say that, in deciding the question of jurisdiction, the court came to the conclusion that if an Indian separates himself from his tribe and lives among pale-faces, after the manner of a citizen, his children born after his separation, being "born subject to the jurisdiction" of the United States, are citizens thereof.

This, I submit to you, is the law to-day. While an Indian belongs to his tribe, in his relations to the United States, he is pretty much in the position of a foreigner. If he repudiates his tribe, and lives with white men, he is in the position of a visiting alien, a Frenchman or Chinaman, capable of holding land, making contracts, suing and being sued. But his children are native-born citizens of the United States.

It will be seen that even if the court in Nebraska decide in favor of the Indian—as I should think they would, if his case fulfils the conditions above indicated—the decision will not affect the status of the Indian tribes. None of them, by our present laws, have any chance of citizenship; though it is a boon which, if they choose, they may obtain for their children.

Therefore I cannot share your fears, that we shall suddenly have to add to our voting lists the Indian hordes of Colorado and Nebraska. Nor can I sympathize with those who would give the Indian citizenship by legislation. Citizenship now-a-days carries more burdens than privileges; burdens, too, which Indian backs are by no means able to bear. If they get the citizenship, you cannot keep them from the suffrage; and no sane man wants to see them with the ballot in their hands. As the law now stands, strengthened by the recent decision of Judge Lundy, they can, at will, leave their tribes and become "persons," with all the rights and privileges of property and trade, and none of the dangers of citizenship; but with the prospect of citizenship for their children, what more or better can they or the philanthropists desire?

Cambridge, Mass.

F. G. S.

FINANCE.

NEW YORK, February 23, 1881.

THE week which ends to-day has witnessed at the Stock Exchange a reaction in stocks which had not been down in the books of many operators. Compared with the closing prices of last Wednesday, the general list is down 5 to 7 per cent., and the market closes weak and demoralized. In fact, there has been a complete reversion of feeling, and the tide downward seems to be running so strong that it may require even some of the "bears" to help to stop it, if a panic is to be prevented. It may sound strange to say that the passage of the 3 per cent. Funding Bill in the Senate was the cause of this sudden change in the condition of the speculation, when it is considered that many "bulls" had been justifying the ruling prices on the ground that the adoption of such a low rate of interest by the Government would unquestionably drive a large amount of capital into railroad stocks and bonds. Certainly, if talk goes for anything, a considerable portion of Wall Street had been banking on the 3 per cent. bill. Yet, after a very feverish day on last Friday, when the announcement came from Washington that the Senate had passed the Funding Bill without modifying any of the objectionable features that marked it as it came from the House of Representatives, there was a sharp decline in the market, which was followed Saturday by a speculation extremely feverish and unsettled, and which to-day has bordered, at times, almost on the verge of a panic.

The early weakness of the market, on the announcement of the Senate's action, probably resulted from the effect of sales of "long" stock, which several large opera-

tors had quietly been making. The unfavorable condition of the market since, while maintained possibly by continued sales from heavy holders, has been aggravated by the effect of stringent money on promiscuous and outside traders. The passage of the Funding Bill through the Senate has, in fact, been to Wall street like a fire-brand thrown into a powder magazine. It is questionable whether those brokers and operators who argued most loudly in favor of the beneficent results certain to flow from the 3 per cent. Funding Bill, really believed their own words; certain it is, that few persons on Wall Street expected the bill to pass the Senate without the rate being changed, or many of its provisions modified. The Senate's action, consequently, has demoralized even sanguine operators, for it places in jeopardy, in the opinion of many persons, the very financial operations that were relied upon to maintain the "bull" speculation. The Funding Bill has cut like a two-edged sword: first, by creating doubt as to the success of any attempted refunding operations under such bill; and second, by its effect upon the banks and its consequent tightening of the money market, which has resulted from their action taken in self-defence.

The eventful speculation in stocks during the past week has diverted the attention of operators, to a great extent, from the railroad bond market, and, consequently, the trading in railroad bonds has been comparatively small, and without much decided change in prices. State bonds were active, the principal feature being the large trading and handsome advance in the price of the Louisiana consols; part of the advance, however, has since been lost. Government bonds have, of course, been affected by the Funding Bill question. While the market at one time showed a disposition to move buoyantly upward, in view of the passage of the 3 per cent. bill, sober second thought, and the effect of the weakness shown by the stock market, have caused investors to be moderate in their demands at the present prices, and the market closes weak and lower.

Several important railroad reports have been made public during the week, prominent among which are the two Delawares (Delaware and Hudson, and Delaware, Lackawanna and Western), both of which are given out to-day. In his review of the year, the president of the Delaware and Hudson expresses gratification in being able to state that the leased lines have become self-supporting, and that their collateral advantages as avenues for the distribution of coal are annually increasing. The result of the business of the past year showed a profit of a fraction over 6¾ per cent. upon the total capital stock of the company. The deficit caused by the disastrous condition of the coal interest in past years is given as the reason for non-payment of dividends heretofore, but it is stated that this deficit has been made good, and that a resumption of dividends can now be justified. The Delaware, Lackawanna and Western's statement is, as usual, meagre and unsatisfactory, as it furnishes little upon which to base comparisons. It states, however, that the total earnings were increased \$1,429,896, while the expenses were reduced \$663,122, making an increase in the net earnings of over \$2,000,000. At the election, which also took place to-day, Messrs. Gould, Dillon and Sage took the places of three retiring members of the board.

Another important combination in which Mr. Gould's name figures was made public to-day—the purchase of a controlling interest by the Baltimore and Ohio representatives, Mr. Gould and his associates, Drexel & Co., Belmont & Co., and others, of the Philadelphia, Wilmington and Baltimore Railroad.

Messrs. Fisk and Hatch, bankers in New York City, have issued a circular correcting the representations made by Theophilus French, United States Auditor of Railroad Accounts, that the net earnings of the Central Pacific Railroad Company had not been sufficient to warrant the payment of the divided declared payable on February 1. The circular shows a surplus over all dividends, including the one in dispute, for the period covered by the auditor's exhibit, from July 1, 1878 to December 31, 1880, of \$459,449. The surplus of net earning over all expenses for the ten years ending December 31, 1879, is stated to have been \$10,164,985. The controversy between the company and Mr. French does not, however, seem to be settled.

The balance sheet of the Illinois Central Railroad Company makes a very favorable exhibit of the present condition of the company. The assets amount to \$12,574,138. They consist principally of securities in the New Orleans line,—bonds secured by first and second mortgages for \$6,661,000; stock of the Chicago, St. Louis and New Orleans Railroad for \$4,002,000; land notes for \$402,000, and unsold lands, \$1,500,000. The funded debt is \$12,000,000, at five and six per cent. interest. The English holders of the New Orleans Railroad bonds have signified their willingness to accept the new 5 per cent. bonds for their present holding, a saving in interest of \$300,000 to the company when the compromise shall have been effected.

The statement of the Associated Banks of New York, for the week ending last Saturday, exhibited a further large increase in the loans, which now amount to \$320,807,300. In every other item of the statement there was a falling off in the average totals from the preceding week, the reduction in specie being nearly \$2,000,000, and in legal tenders \$658,800, while the deposits are down \$206,200. These changes call for the shipment of about \$1,300,000 national bank notes to the interior, when taken in connection with the changes at the Sub-Treasury. The surplus reserve is again down to less than \$4,000,000.

The condition of the banks has been greatly changed, however, by their prompt action, or, at least, by the prompt action of some of the banks, in depositing funds with the Sub-Treasury for the purpose of withdrawing their circulation, following the passage by the Senate of the House Funding Bill, practically unmodified. The first step in this direction was taken on Friday, immediately after the passage of the bill, and it was followed on Saturday by deposits amounting to over \$2,000,000, for the purpose of retiring circulation. Since that time, banks in all parts of the country have made similar deposits, the amount of circulation already retired exceeding \$12,000,000.

There is manifestly a very general misunderstanding regarding this action of the

banks in withdrawing their circulation, a very popular opinion being that it has been done for the purpose of forcing Congress to pass a bill removing the tax on deposits, or one fixing the rate of interest of the new bonds at a higher figure. As a matter of fact, these questions have nothing to do with the present action of the banks. By the fifth section of the bill passed by the Senate last week, Congress proposes to tie the hands of the national bank managers in such a way as to deprive them effectually of the power of managing a large portion of their funds, and this without any intervening time during which the banks may adjust their affairs to the new order of things. The moment that the bill is signed by the President, no national bank can withdraw any portion of its deposits with the Treasury, under any condition whatever, except by presentation of its notes. Any one at all acquainted with banking affairs knows that in case of liquidation, or of the winding up of a bank, it would require years for the managers of the bank to secure a return of its notes. Furthermore, Government bonds have sold much lower than their market price to-day, and they may sell thus again, and it is manifestly an outrage to ask the banks to lose the present premium on the bonds deposited to secure circulation, if there were indications of a reduction in the price. In fact, the section referred to is nothing more than an attempt, on the part of Congress, to play a great game, and place the banks in a position in which they have no right to permit themselves to be caught, if prompt action on their part will prevent it. The fifth section of the bill reads as follows:

"Sec. 5. From and after the first day of July, 1881, the 3 per cent. bonds authorized

by the first section of this act shall be the only bonds receivable as security for national bank circulation, or as security for the safe keeping and prompt payment of the public money deposited with such banks; but when any such bonds deposited for the purposes aforesaid shall be designated for purchase or redemption by the Secretary of the Treasury, the banking association depositing the same shall have a right to substitute other issues of the bonds of the United States in lieu thereof; provided that no bonds upon which interest has ceased shall be accepted, or shall be continued on deposit as security for circulation, or for safe keeping of the public money; and in case bonds so deposited shall not be withdrawn, as provided by law, within thirty days after interest has ceased thereon, the banking association depositing the same shall be subject to the liabilities and proceedings on the part of the Comptroller provided for in section 5,234 of the Revised Statutes of the United States. And provided further, that section 4 of the act of June 20, 1874, entitled 'An act fixing the amount of United States notes, providing for a redistribution of the national bank currency, and for other purposes,' be and the same is hereby repealed; and sections 5,159 and 5,160 of the Revised Statutes of the United States be and the same are hereby re-enacted."

The Philadelphia market was remarkably strong and active about the middle of last week, but the best prices were not maintained, and this week there has been a further decline in sympathy with the general uncertainty prevailing. The most active stocks have been Pennsylvania Railroad, Reading, Northern Pacific, Buffalo, Pittsburgh and Western, Lehigh Navigation and Philadelphia and Erie.

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NET CASH ASSETS, December 31, 1880, \$38,409,844.02

ASSETS.

Bonds and Mortgages; \$9,053,475.50
United States Stocks, 2,513,591.00
State, City and other Stocks authorized by the Laws of the State, 8,987,422.47
Loans secured by United States and other Stocks, 7,064,562.88
Real Estate, 8,368,363.62
Cash and other Ledger Assets as per extended Statement, 2,422,428.55

Market value of Stocks over Cost, \$38,409,844.02
Accrued Interest, Rents, and Premiums as per extended statement, 1,521,051.28

Total Assets, Dec. 31, 1880, \$9,228,294.32

TOTAL LIABILITIES, including legal reserve for re-insurance of all interesting policies, 31,880,308.11

Total Undivided Surplus, \$9,228,294.21

Risks assumed in 1881, \$35,170,805.00
Risks Outstanding, \$177,597,703.00

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